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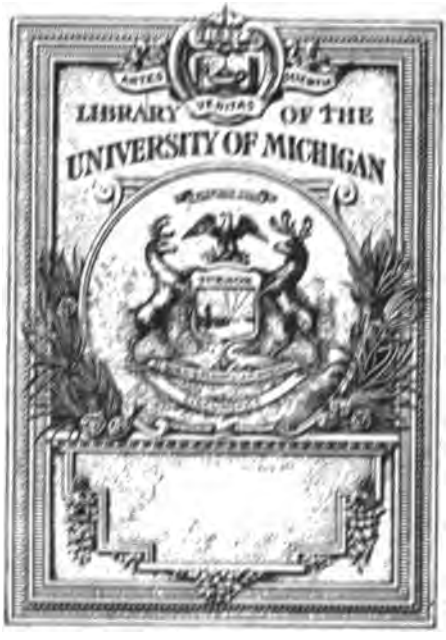
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THE

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS

OF

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

VOL. XXI.

PERIODICAL CRITICISM.

VOL. V

MISCELLANEOUS.

&c.

D. C. Hill.

W. Forrest

ALLANTON, LANARKSHIRE.

ON.

THE

PROSE WORKS

OF

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

VOL. 21.

Taymouth from Kenmore Hill

A picturesque view of this seat of the Marquis of Breadalbane, which Sir Walter Scott, when visiting

EDINBURGH, PUBLISHED 1836, BY ROBERT CADELL, & WHITTAKER & Co. LONDON.

PERIODICAL CRITICISM.

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART., 1771-1832

VOL. V.

MISCELLANEOUS—(CONCLUDED).

LETTERS OF MALACHI MALAGROWTHER
ON THE CURRENCY.

ROBERT CADELL, EDINBURGH;
HOULSTON & STONEMAN, LONDON.
1848.

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CONTENTS

OF VOLUME TWENTY-FIRST.

MISCELLANEOUS CRITICISM.—*Concluded.*

PAGE

ARTICLE XIV.—ON PLANTING WASTE LANDS,—MONTEATH'S FORESTERS' GUIDE, ... 1

—— XV.—ON LANDSCAPE GARDENING,—SIR H. STEUART'S PLANTERS' GUIDE, ... 77

—— XVI.—TYTLER'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, ... 152

—— XVII.—PITCAIRN'S CRIMINAL TRIALS, ... 199

LETTERS OF MALACHI MALAGROWTHER ON THE CURRENCY.

LETTER I. 269

—— II. 312

—— III. 376

MISCELLANEOUS CRITICISM.

ARTICLE XIV.

ON PLANTING WASTE LANDS.

[*The Forester's Guide and Profitable Planter.* By ROBERT MONTEATH. *Edinburgh*, 1824. *Quarterly Review, October*, 1827.]

EDUCATION has been often compared to the planting and training up of vegetable productions, and the parallel holds true in this remarkable particular, amongst others, that numerous systems are recommended and practised in both cases which are totally contradictory of each other, and most of which can, nevertheless, be supported by an appeal to the fruits they have brought forth. It would seem to follow that the oak is more easily taught to grow, and the young idea how to shoot, than is generally allowed by the warm assertors of particular systems, and that Nature will, even in cases

of neglect or mismanagement, do a great deal to supply the errors or carelessness whether of the preceptor or the forester. It would be wasting words, to set about proving that in both departments there are certain rules which greatly assist Nature in her operations, and bring the tree, or the youth, to an earlier and higher degree of maturity than either would otherwise have obtained. But we think it equally plain, that the rules which are found most effectual are of a very general character, and, when put into practice, must be modified according to the circumstances of each individual case; from which it results, that an exclusive attachment to the *minutiæ* of particular systems will, in many instances, be found worse than unnecessary.

To apply this maxim to the art of planting, we would remark, that there are certain general principles respecting planting, pruning, thinning, and so forth, without which no plantations will be found eminently successful, even in the most advantageous situations; and which, being carefully followed, in less favourable circumstances, will make up for many deficiencies of soil and climate. But on the other hand, there are many peculiar modes of treating plantations which, succeeding extremely well in one situation, will in another impede, rather than advance, the progress of the wood. Yet it frequently happens that these very varieties, or peculiarities of practice, are insisted upon, by those who build systems, as the indispensable requisites for success in every case. This

leads to empirical doctrines of all sorts, which, perhaps, prevail more among planters than in any other department of rural practice. Such are, violent and exclusive prepossessions entertained in favour of any particular kind of tree, how valuable soever; such are also the differences eagerly and obstinately maintained respecting particular modes of preparing the ground, and the precise season of putting in the plants. Such, also, are some particular doctrines held concerning pruning. Upon all these points we find practical men entertain and express very opposite opinions, with as much pertinacity as if they had been handed down, in direct tradition, from the first of men and of foresters. The feuds arising from these differences of opinion have, as in the case of religion itself, been unfavourable to the progress of the good cause; and one of the most important of national improvements has been, in a great measure, neglected, because men could not make up their minds concerning the very best possible mode of conducting it.

We are far, very far, from supposing ourselves capable of filling up, by a general sketch, a summary of rules which may be useful to the planter, yet we claim some knowledge of the subject, from sixteen years' undeviating attention to the raising young plantations of considerable extent, upon lands which may be, in general, termed waste or unimproved. Indeed, to lay aside for a moment our impersonality, the author of this article having, in the course of that time, seen reason to change his

opinion on many important points, and particularly upon those in which the expense of planting is chiefly concerned, takes the freedom to consider Mr Monteath's useful and interesting treatise with reference to his own experience, and the facts which that experience has suggested.

Every one will own that the subject is of the most momentous interest to this country. It is long since the wisdom and patriotism of the late Lord Melville sounded the alarm on the subject of the decay and destruction of the national forests, announcing the immense increase of the demand for oak timber, the advance of the price of fir timber, the inadequacy of the present forests long to supply the increasing demand, and the apathy with which government omitted to provide for evils which seemed rapidly advancing, although the possibility of doing so appeared plain from his lordship's statement:—

"It is supposed that, exclusive of the royal forests, there are in Great Britain and Ireland, probably more than eighty millions of acres, of which, perhaps, no part is yet brought to the highest state of cultivation, and that certainly not less than twenty millions are still waste. If, therefore, a comparatively very small part of the land of the kingdom is thought essential to be appropriated to the purpose of securing the continuance of our naval strength and pride, it would surely be a very shortsighted policy which should suggest to this maritime country the expediency of trusting to a commerce for the supply of our dockyards with timber; when, without any real risk to the subsistence of the country, and by a sacrifice comparatively small, we can avoid for ever putting to hazard the supply of an article, on which, confessedly, our strength, our glory, our independence, even our existence as a nation, must now and at all times depend."—LORD MELVILLE'S *Letter to* MR PERCIVAL, *on the subject of Naval Timber, published in July*, 1810.

While these facts are granted, it must, at the same time, be admitted, that the time of peace is that in which we can best recruit the resources of the nation, and strengthen her sinews for future wars; and that at present, therefore, the country has few more important subjects of consideration, than those which refer to providing a stock of timber for future emergencies. A patriotic spirit, therefore, might be supposed sufficiently rewarded by preparing for the future conquests of the British navy, and for the ornament of his native land; covering sterile wildernesses with the most magnificent productions of the earth, and exercising, slowly indeed but surely, such a change on the face of nature, as the powers of man cannot achieve in any other manner. Yet we cannot trust to such motives to overcome the inertness of many landholders: to induce them to part for a time with a portion of their yearly income, and be at the outlay of a very moderate sum per acre, we are aware that we must talk to them of pence as well as of patriotism, and indicate a certain return for their advances; since in preaching to them only on the subject of adding to the beauty of the landscape, or the prosperity of the country, we should expose ourselves to the answer of Harpagon to the eulogium of Frosine upon his mistress's perfections: "*Oui; cela n'est pas mal; mais ce compte là n'a rien de réel. Il faut bien que je touche quelque chose.*" We will, therefore, endeavour to convince those who lean to this view of the subject, that the increase of the value of their own rentals and estates

is equally concerned in the considerations to which we invite them, as the interest of the country at large.

The subject naturally divides itself into plantations raised chiefly for the purpose of ornament, and those which are intended principally for profit. The division is not, however, an absolute one; nor is it possible, perhaps, to treat of the subject in the one point of view, without frequently touching upon the other. No very large plantation can be formed without beautifying the face of the country (although, indeed, stripes and clumps of Scotch firs or larches may be admitted as deformities); and, on the other hand, the thinnings of merely ornamental plantations afford the proprietor who raises such, a fair indemnity for the ground which they occupy. But, though this is the case, the two kinds of planting must be considered as different branches of the same art, and we will, accordingly, take leave to consider them distinctly, confining ourselves, for the present, as far as we can, to that in which utility is the principal object.

The most useful style of planting, that which can be executed at the least expense, and which must ultimately return the greatest profit, is that respecting large tracts of waste land, which, by judicious management, may be converted into highly profitable woodland, without taking from agriculture the value of a sheaf of corn, or even greatly interfering with pastoral occupation—so far as that occupation is essentially advantageous. For we suppose it will be admitted, that in any

case where a stately and valuable forest can be raised by the restricting a few hundred score of sheep to better and richer pasture than they formerly enjoyed, great advantage will accrue to the landlord, and no loss will be sustained either by the tenant, or the poor animal, who now picking up his grass by piles at a time in a howling wilderness, would then be better supported, and more free from accident of every kind.

The scheme of which we are about to show the easy practicability, if it be only undertaken boldly and upon a large scale, by the persons principally concerned, will be found as advantageous to the poor as the rich; providing for the over-population, as it is called, a hardy and healthful occupation, the object of which is the improvement of their native country, while the manner in which it is conducted is equally favourable to their comforts and to their morals. Neither are the landed proprietor and his dependents the only parties benefited. The cheapness and plenty of wood, as it is essential to our shipping, becomes, in that point of view, indispensable to our mercantile and manufacturing interests. But we feel ourselves, unintentionally, again drawn back to the public and political views, which it is almost impossible to separate from this great national subject: we will, therefore, proceed to enter upon it at once, cautioning our readers, that in repeating the truths which we have collected from others, and which have been corroborated by our own experience, we do not pretend to more merit than that of acting as *flappers*, again to

solicit the attention of the public, and in particular of landed gentlemen, to this most important topic.

The hills of Wales—those of Derby, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and part of Yorkshire and Lancashire, together with the more extensive wastes and mountainous regions which compose by far the greater part of Scotland, have, in general, the same character, presenting naked wildernesses of rock, and heath, and moorland, swelling into hills and mountains of greater or less elevation, and intersected by rivers and large lakes, many of them navigable: in short, pointed out by Nature as the site of lofty woods, with which, indeed, her own unassisted efforts had, at an early period, clothed them: for nothing can be more certain than that the sterile districts we have described were, in ancient times, covered with continual forests. History, tradition, and the remains of huge old trees and straggling thickets, as well as the subterranean wood found in bogs and mosses, attest the same indubitable fact. It is not to be supposed that these woods grew at very high points of elevation, on the brow of lofty and exposed mountains, and in the very face of prevailing winds: yet it is astonishing, when the declivities and dales of such a region are once occupied by wood, how very soon the trees, availing themselves of every shelter afforded by the depths and sinuosities of the glens and ravines which seam the mountain side, appear to have ascended to points of altitude where a planter would rationally have despaired of success.

These natural woods, however, have long, excepting in a comparatively few instances, wholly ceased to exist. This has been owing to various causes. Extensive forests, occupying a long tract of tolerably level ground, have been gradually destroyed by natural decay, accelerated by the increase of the bogs. The wood which they might have produced was useless to the proprietors; the state of the roads, as well as of the country in general, not permitting so bulky and weighty an article to be carried from the place where it had grown, however valuable it might have proved had it been transported elsewhere. In this situation the trees of the natural forests pined and withered, and were thrown down by the wind, and it often necessarily happened that they fell into, or across, some little stream or rivulet, by the side of which they had flourished and decayed. The stream, being stopped, saturated with standing water the soil around it, and instead of being, as hitherto, the drain of the forest, the stagnation of the rivulet converted into a swamp what its current had formerly rendered dry. The loose bog-earth, and the sour moisture with which it was impregnated, loosened and poisoned the roots of other neighbouring trees, which, at the next storm, went to the ground in their turn, and tended still more to impede the current of the water; while the accumulating moss, as the bog-earth is called in Scotland, went on increasing and heaving up, so as to bury the trunks of the trees which it had destroyed. In the counties of Inverness and Ross, instances may be seen, at the pre-

sent day, where this melancholy process, of the conversion of a forest into a bog, is still going forward.

This, however, was not by any means the only manner in which the northern forests perished, although it may be in some sense accounted their natural mode of death.

From the time of Agricola and Severus, to that of Cromwell, the axes of the invading enemies were repeatedly employed to lay waste the forests, and thereby remove a most important part of the national defence. In this way, doubtless, woods which, standing on the banks of rapid streams, or upon declivities where the course of the water is not liable to be intercepted, were not subject to the causes of destruction by the increase of the morass, fell by violence, as in the former case they perished by decay.

Nature, however, would, with her usual elasticity, have repaired the losses which were inflicted by the violence of man, and fresh crops of wood would have arisen to supply the place of that which had been felled, had not the carelessness and wantonness of mankind obstructed her efforts. The forest of Ettrick, for example, a tract of country containing two hundred and seventy square miles, was, till Charles I.'s time, reserved as a royal chase, and entirely wooded, except where the elevation of the mountains rendered the growth of trees impossible. In and about the year 1700, great part of this natural wood remained, yet now, excepting the copse woods of Harehead and Elibank, with some

trifling remains on the banks of the Yarrow, it has totally vanished. We have ourselves seen an account of a sale of growing trees upon an estate in this district where the proceeds amounted to no less than six thousand pounds, a very large sum considering that the country was overstocked with wood, the demands for it confined to those of rural economy, and the means of transporting it extremely imperfect. There must have been a fall of large and valuable timber to have produced such a sum under such circumstances. The guardians of the noble proprietor, when they made the sale, seem to have given directions for enclosing the natural wood, with a view to its preservation. Nevertheless, about seventy or eighty years afterwards, there was scarcely in existence, upon the whole property, a twig sufficient to make a walking-stick, so effectually had the intentions of the guardians been baffled, and their instructions neglected. It may be some explanation of this wilful waste, that a stocking of goats (of all other creatures the most destructive to wood) had been put upon the ground after cutting the trees. But to speak the truth, agriculture, as Mr Shandy says of the noble science of defence, has its weak points. Those who pursue one branch of the art are apt to become bigoted and prejudiced against every thing which belongs to another, though no less essential, department. The arable cultivator, for example, has a sort of pleasure in rooting up the most valuable grass land, even where the slightest reflection might assure him that it would be more profitable to reserve it for

be ridiculous to be at the trouble or expense of raising the plants. But where he proposes to plant upon a large scale, it is of the highest consequence that the young plants should stand for two or three seasons in a nursery of his own. Mr Monteath recommends that such *second-hand nursery*, as he terms it, should be replenished with seedlings of a year or two years old, from the seed-beds of a professional nurseryman, justly observing that the expense and trouble attending the raising the plants from seed,—and, he might have added, the risk of miscarriage,—are in this way entirely avoided, while the advantages attained are equal to what they would have been had the plant been raised from the seed by the proprietor himself. On the other hand (though we have known it practised), we would not advise that seedlings, any more than plants, should be carried from the neighbourhood of Glasgow to the Hebrides, or to distant parts of the Highlands. There is also this advantage, that by raising the trees from seed, the forester makes sure of getting his plants from the best trees—an article of considerable importance, especially in the fir tribes.

But whether the planter supplies his nursery from his own seed-bed or that of the professional man, the necessity of having a nursery of one sort or other continues the same. The advantages are, first, that the plants are not hastily transferred from the nurseryman's warm and sheltered establishment, to the exposed and unfertile district which they are meant to occupy, but undergo a

sort of seasoning in the nursery of the proprietor, and become, in a certain degree, naturalized to climate and soil before they are, as it is technically termed, *planted out*. Secondly, the most mortifying and injurious interruptions, incident to the planter's occupation, are thus greatly lessened. It is well known that nothing can be so conducive to the success of a plant, as its being transferred instantly, or with the loss of the least possible interval of time, from the line which it occupies in the nursery, to its final station in the field. If it is to be sent for to a distant nursery, this becomes impossible. Besides, it frequently happens, when plants have been brought from a distance, that the weather has changed to frost before they arrive at the place of their destination, and there is no remedy but to dig them down into some ditch, and cover the roots with earth, and leave them in that situation for days and weeks, until the season shall again become favourable to the planter. If, on the contrary, the plants are supplied from the proprietor's own nursery in the vicinity, they need only be brought forward in small quantities at a time, and the pernicious and perilous practice of *sheughing*, as we have heard it called, is almost entirely avoided. It is, therefore, in all cases, a matter of high advantage, in many of actual necessity, that the proprietor who means to plant on a large scale should have a nursery of his own.

Thus provided with the material of his enterprise, and with the human force necessary to carry it into effect, the planter's next point is to choose

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Thus provided with the material of his enterprise, and with the human force necessary to carry it into effect, the planter's next point is to choose

the scene of operation. On this subject, reason and common sense at once point out the necessary restrictions. No man of common sense would select, for the purpose of planting, rich holms, fertile meadows, or other ground peculiarly fit for producing corn, or for supporting cattle. Such land, valuable everywhere, is peculiarly so in a country where fertile spots are scarce, and where there is no lack of rough, exposed, and at present unprofitable tracts. The necessary ornament of a mansionhouse would alone vindicate such an extraordinary proceeding. Nay, a considerate planter would hesitate to cut up and destroy even a fine sheep-pasture for the purpose of raising wood, while there remained on the estate land which might be planted at a less sacrifice. The ground ought to be shared betwixt pasture and woodland, with reference to local circumstances, and it is in general by no means difficult to form the plantation so as to be of the highest advantage to the sheep-walk. In making the selection the proprietor will generally receive many a check on this subject from his land-steward or bailiff, to whom any other agricultural operations are generally more desirable than the pursuits of the forester. To confirm the proprietor in resisting this narrow-minded monitor, it is necessary to assure him that the distinction to be drawn betwixt the ground to be planted and that which is to be reserved for sheep, is to be drawn with a bold and not a timid hand. The planter must not, as we have *often* seen vainly attempted, endeavour to exclude from

his proposed plantation, all but the very worst of the ground. Whenever such paltry saving has been attempted, the consequences have been very undesirable in all respects. In the first place, the expense of fencing is greatly increased; for, in order to form these pinched and restricted plantations, a great many turnings and involutions, and independent fences, must be made, which become totally unnecessary when the woodland is formed on an ample and liberal scale. In the second place, this parsimonious system leads to circumstances contrary to Christian charity, for the eyes of every human being that looks on plantations so formed, feeling hurt as if a handful of sand were flung into them, the sufferers are too apt to vent their resentment in the worst of wishes against the devisers and perpetrators of such enormities. We have seen a brotherhood of beautiful hills, the summits of which, while they remained unplanted, must have formed a fine undulating line, now presenting themselves with each a round circle of black fir, like a skimming dish on its head, combined together with long narrow lines of the same complexion, like a chain of ancient fortifications, consisting of round towers flanking a straight curtain, or rather like a range of college caps connected by a broad black ribbon. Other plantations in the awkward angles, which they have been made to assume, in order that they might not trespass upon some edible portion of grass land, have come to resemble uncle Toby's bowling-green transported to a northern hill side. Here

you shall see a solitary mountain with a great black patch stuck on its side, like a plaster of Burgundy-pitch, and there another, where the plantation, instead of gracefully sweeping down to its feet, is broken short off in mid-air, like a country wench's gown tucked through her pocket holes in the days when such things as pockets were extant in *rerum naturâ*. In other cases of enormity, the unhappy plantations have been made to assume the form of pincushions, of hatchets, of penny tarts, and of breeches displayed at an old-clothesman's door. These abortions have been the consequence of a resolution to occupy with trees only those parts of the hill where nothing else will grow, and which, therefore, is carved out for their accommodation, with "up and down and snip and slash," whatever unnatural and fantastic forms may be thereby assigned to their boundaries.

In all such cases the insulated trees, deprived of the shelter which they experience when planted in masses, have grown thin, and hungrily, affording the unhappy planter neither pleasure to his eye, credit to his judgment, nor profit to his purse. A more liberal projector would have adopted a very different plan. He would have considered, that although trees, the noblest productions of the vegetable realm, are of a nature extremely hardy, and can grow where not even a turnip could be raised, they are yet sensible of, and grateful for, the kindness which they receive. In selecting the portions of waste land which he is about to plant, he would, therefore, extend his limits to what may be called

the natural boundaries, carry them down to the glens on one side, sweep them around the foot of the hills on another, conduct them up the ravines on a third, giving them, as much as possible, the character of a natural wood, which can only be attained by keeping their boundaries out of sight, and suggesting to the imagination that idea of extent which always arises when the limits of a wood are not visible. It is true that in this manner some acres of good ground may be lost to the flocks, but the advantages to the woodland are a complete compensation. It is, of course, in sheltered places that the wood first begins to grow, and the young trees, arising freely in such more fertile spots on the verge of the plantation, extend protection to the general mass which occupies the poorer ground. These less-favoured plants linger long while left to their own unassisted operations: annoyed at the same time by want of nourishment, and the severity of the blast, they remain, indeed, alive, but make little or no progress; but when they experience shelter from the vicinity of those which occupy a better soil, they seem to profit by their example, and speedily arise under their wings.

The improver ought to be governed by the natural features of the ground in choosing the shape of his plantations, as well as in selecting the species of land to be planted. A surface of ground, undulating into eminences and hollows, forms to a person who delights in such a task, perhaps the most agreeable subject of consideration on which the mind of the improver can be engaged. He must

take care, in this case, to avoid the fatal yet frequent error of adopting the boundaries of his plantations from the surveyor's plan of the estate, not from the ground itself. He must recollect that the former is a flat surface, conveying, after the draughtsman has done his best, but a very imperfect idea of the actual face of the country, and can, therefore, guide him but imperfectly in selecting the ground proper for his purpose.

Having, therefore, made himself personally acquainted with the localities of the estate, he will find no difficulty in adopting a general principle for lining out his worst land. To plant the eminences, and thereby enclose the hollows for cultivation, is what all parties will agree upon; the mere farmer, because, in the general case, the rule will assign to cultivation the best ground, and to woodland that which is most sterile; and also, because a wood placed on an eminence affords, of course, a more complete protection to the neighbouring fields than if it stood upon the same level with them. The forester will give his ready consent, because wood no where luxuriates so freely as on the slope of a hill. The man of taste will be equally desirous that the boundaries of his plantation should follow the lines designed by nature, which are always easy and undulating, or bold, prominent, and elevated, but never either stiff or formal. In this manner, the future woods will advance and recede from the eye, according to and along with the sweep of the hills and banks which support them, thus occupying precisely the place in the landscape where nature's

own hand would have planted them. The projector will rejoice the more in this allocation, that in many instances it will enable him to conceal the boundaries of his plantations, an object which, in point of taste, is almost always desirable. In short, the only persons who will suffer by the adoption of this system will be the admirers of mathematical regularity, who deem it essential that the mattock and spade be under the peremptory dominion of the scale and compass; who demand that all enclosures shall be of the same shape and of the same extent; who delight in straight lines and in sharp angles, and desire that their woods and fields be laid out with the same exact correspondence to each other as when they were first delineated upon paper. It is to be conjectured, that when the inefficiency of this principle and its effects are pointed out, few would wish to resort to it, unless it were a humorist like Uncle Toby, or a martinet like Lord Stair, who planted trees after the fashion of battalions formed into line and column, that they might assist them in their descriptions of the battles of Wynendale and Dettingen. It may, however, be a consolation to the admirers of strict uniformity and regularity, if any such there still be, to be assured that their object is, in fact, unattainable; it is as impossible to draw straight lines of wood, that is, lines which shall produce the appearance of mathematical regularity, along the uneven surface of a varied country, as it would be to draw a correct diagram upon a crumpled sheet of paper, or lay a carpet down smoothly on a floor littered

with books. The attempt to plant upon such a system will not, therefore, present the regular form and plan expected, but, on the contrary, a number of broken lines, interrupted circles, and salient angles, as much at variance with Euclid as with nature.

We are happy to say, that this artificial mode of planting, the purpose of which seems to be a sort of inscribing on every plantation that it was the work of man, not of nature, is now going fast out of fashion, both with proprietors and farmers. A gentleman of our acquaintance had, some years ago, the purpose of planting a considerable part of a farm of about one hundred and twenty acres, which lay near his residence. It rented at about twenty shillings per acre. The proprietor, rejecting a plan which was offered to him, for laying off the ground into fields resembling parallelograms, divided like a chess-board by thin stripes of plantation, went to work in the way we have mentioned above, scooping out the lowest part of the land for enclosures, and planting the wood round it in masses, which were enlarged or contracted, as the natural lying of the ground seemed to dictate, and producing a series of agreeable effects to the eye, varying in every point of view, and affording new details of the landscape, as the plantations became blended together, or receded from each other. About five or six years after this transformation had been effected, the landlord met his former tenant, a judicious cool-headed countryman, upon the ground, and naturally said to him, "I suppose, Mr R., you

will say I have ruined your farm by laying half of it into woodland ?"—" I should have expected it, sir," answered Mr R., " if you had told me beforehand what you were about to do ; but I am now of a very different opinion ; and as I am looking for land at present, if you incline to take, for the remaining sixty acres, the same rent which I formerly gave for a hundred and twenty, I will give you an offer to that amount. I consider the benefit of the enclosing, and the complete shelter afforded to the fields, as an advantage which fairly counterbalances the loss of one half of the land." The proprietor then showed Mr R. the plan which had been suggested to him, of subdividing the whole farm by straight rectilinear stripes, occupying altogether about five-and-twenty or thirty acres. The intelligent and unprejudiced agriculturist owned that, *à priori*, he would have preferred a system which left so much more land for the occupation of the plough, but as frankly owned that the trees could neither have made half the progress, or have afforded half the shelter, which had actually been the case under the present plan, and that he was now convinced that the proprietor had chosen the better part.

Another proof of the same important fact occurs, upon a hill which we, at this moment, see from the windows of the apartment in which we are now writing. It is of considerable height, and the proprietor, about forty years ago or more, attempted to raise a plantation on the very crest or summit of the eminence, retaining the rest of the hill for the

purposes of pasturage and agriculture. His operations, attempted on this niggardly scale, failed totally, after two separate attempts, every plant dying in the exposed and ungenial situation. On a third essay, the proprietor altered his measures, and brought the limits of his woodland so far down the hill as to include a few acres of tolerable land. The trees on these better spots soon rose, and, sheltering those which were exposed, the whole upper part of the hill became clothed with a wood, out of which the present proprietor has cut annually several hundred pounds worth of timber, to the advantage, not the prejudice, of that which remains standing to a large value.

The same change has taken place in the sentiments of intelligent store-farmers as in those of agriculturists like Mr R. Almost every sheep-farm contains large tracts covered with stones and shingle, or otherwise steep, dangerous, and precipitous; of ravines, which in winter prove the grave of many of the flock; and of other rocky and barren spots, affording little pasture, and that only to be obtained at the great peril of the sheep. There are also on most sheep-walks, extensive moors, which, sheltered by plantations on the mountains, would produce a far different species of herbage from what flocks or herds are now able to glean off them; and, in general, it is now perfectly understood, that when the trees have made such a progress as to afford shelter in the lambing seasons and during storms, the ground they occupy is far from being grudged them by an intelligent shep-

herd. It is very likely, indeed, that the tenant who possesses a sheep-farm on a short lease may desire some diminution of rent: for when the landlord entertains a desire to enter into possession of a part of his land during currency of the lease, the circumstance is always considered as a kind of God-send, which it would be neglecting the benefits afforded by providence not to make ample use of. But an intelligent farmer, the length of whose possession must enable him to derive advantage from the shelter and other favourable circumstances which cannot fail to attend the more advanced state of the plantations, will usually be disposed to part, at a very easy rate, with the immediate occupation of such grounds as we have indicated, for the purpose of their being planted. At any rate, we state with confidence that the existence of plantations, even to a very considerable extent, upon a sheep-farm, will, if judiciously disposed, rather increase than diminish the offers for a new lease.

The tract to be occupied by the new plantations being fixed, enclosing is the next indispensable point of preparation. If this is neglected, or not executed in a sufficient manner, the improver may as well renounce his plan; for though we believe, as above stated, that the judicious tenant will approve of and respect the plantations of the landholder, yet we cannot venture to hope that his zeal in their behalf will impel him to take great trouble for their preservation. Even if he were willing to do so, his shepherds cannot be expected to possess such liberal ideas, and will see with great apathy an inroad

of the flock where the enclosure presents a practicable breach, which, in the spring especially, may do more damage to the young woodland in a few hours' time than it can recover in several seasons. The plantation, therefore, whatever its extent, must be suitably enclosed. For this purpose, quickset hedges are, undoubtedly, the preferable means; but these cannot be generally resorted to in the execution of extensive plans, such as we point at. In wild, coarse ground, thorns will not succeed without much care; in soils of a worse class, they will not rise at all; and even where the ground is fittest for them, they require more labour and trouble than can be expected in executing a very large plan, unless the funds of the projector be ample in proportion. Hedges of furze and of larch have been recommended, but they are precarious, and will only succeed when much attention is bestowed on them. The most effectual substitute, we regret to say it, is the dry-stone wall. The materials of this species of fence, generally speaking, abound in the neighbourhood of such plantations as we now treat of. The wall has this great advantage, that it may be said to be major, and competent to discharge all its duties, even on the day of its birth, and if constructed of flat or square stones of good quality, properly put together, and well erected, will last for many years. It is commonly the readiest and best substitute for a quickset fence; but it must be owned that it is extremely ugly, and, when once it begins to break down, can only be repaired at a considerable expense, which, after a certain time,

recurs very frequently, as the best builders of this species of wall cannot so effectually repair the breaches which time makes in it but what they are always making their appearance again at the same places. The unpleasing aspect of these walls may, in some degree, be got rid of by keeping them in hollows: this, indeed, is to be recommended in every case; and upon a large plan, where much ground is at the planter's command, may be very easily managed. Respecting their failure through time, it is to be remembered that it will not take place until the period when breaches may be repaired by wattles made from the plantation itself. We have seen a species of earthen fence used with very considerable success on ground where stones were hard to come at. The earth was dug out of a ditch, which was made to slope outwards, and to present, on the side nearest to the plantation, a straight cut of about a foot and a half; on the verge of that ditch arose the wall itself, composed of sods built up to the height of three feet and a half, so that the whole height was about four feet, and sufficient to be respected by sheep and cattle, except, perhaps, during the time of snow, when no fence can be absolutely trusted to. A single bar of paling placed on the top of this species of *vallum* greatly improves it. It is the cheapest of all fences, as it may be raised at the rate of fifteen-pence a-rood by contract. Its duration cannot be exactly calculated; but, where the sods are of a close and kindly texture, we have known it last for nine or ten years without symptoms of decay, and after that age the

thinnings of the plantation ought to be used to repair the fence, or, if more convenient, sold, and the price applied to that purpose. A hedge may be raised in the inside of such an earth-fence with considerable ease, as the thorns will grow fast among the loose earth; and if this is resorted to, the hedge will be fit to relieve guard when the rampart or earthen wall becomes ruinous.

A preparation no less necessary than that of enclosing, and now generally attended to, although often far too superficially performed, is the drainage of such parts of the intended plantation as are disposed to be marshy. Water, which, when pure, is the necessary nutriment of all vegetables, becomes, when putrid or stagnant, their most decided enemy. There exist no trees, however fond of subaqueous soil, which will thrive if planted in an undrained bog. On the other hand, there is scarcely any ground so swampy, that, provided it affords a level for draining, may not be made to bear trees, if the kinds are well chosen. We have seen the spruce, silver fir, and even the balm of Gilead pine, attain great magnitude in a soil so moist that the trees were originally planted in what are called *lazy beds*. It must be, of course, essential that the drains should be kept open, and scoured from time to time, but it will be found that, as the trees advance, their own demand for nourishment will exhaust a great deal of the superfluous moisture; for, as the fall of a natural forest in a wild country usually creates a morass, so the growth of a wood, when the first obstacles

are removed, has a tendency to diminish a bog which has been already formed.

Another requisite nearly connected with the above is the formation of paths for walking, riding, or driving through the future plantations. Where the woods are on a large scale, these paths should be at least eight or nine feet broad. This object is easily combined with draining, as the ditch which carries off the superfluous water will, at the same time, drain the road, if it is conducted alongside of it, which, in most cases, will be found the best line for both. Such roads serve at first to facilitate the collection of materials for fencing; they afterwards afford easy means of inspecting the condition of the wood, and, finally, of removing the felled trees from the woodland. When *that* occasion comes, the making such paths will be found indispensable, and as, if deferred till then, the object cannot be accomplished without a great waste of time, and the paths, after all, can never be so well lined as before the wood is planted, this preliminary season is unquestionably by far the most proper. It is needless to say that the formation and direction of such paths and drives is one of the most agreeable occupations of a proprietor who pretends to taste, and if barely formed with the spade, and drained, they will become, in a year or two, dry green sward, and require no metalling until they are employed in transporting heavy weights. But, whether formed or not, the space for such paths ought always to be left, and, among other advantages, they will be found to act upon

the forest like the lungs of the human body, circulating the air into its closest recesses, and thereby greatly increasing the growth of the trees.

We may now be expected to say something of the preparation of the soil, by cropping, fallowing, paring, and burning, or otherwise, as is recommended in most books on the subject of planting. There can be no doubt that all or any of these modes, may be, according to circumstances, used with the utmost advantage, especially so far as concerns the early growth of wood. Every plantation, therefore, which the proprietor desires to see *rush up* with unusual rapidity, ought to be prepared by one of these methods, or, which is best of all, by deep trenching with the spade. But the expense attending this most effectual mode limits it to the park and pleasure-ground, and even the other coarser modes of preparation cannot be thought of, when the object is to plant as extensively and at as little expense as possible. It may be some comfort to know that, as far as we have observed, the difference betwixt the growth of plantations, where the ground has been prepared, or otherwise, supposing the soil alike, and plants put in with equal care, seems to disappear within the first ten or twelve years. It is only in its earlier days that the plant enjoys the benefit of having its roots placed amongst earth which has been rendered loose and penetrable: at a certain period the fibres reach the sub-soil which the spade or plough has not disturbed, and thus the final growth of the tree which has enjoyed this advantage is often not

greater than that of its neighbour, upon which no such indulgences were ever bestowed.

The next important object is the choice of the trees with which the proposed woodland is to be stocked, and, supposing the production of tall timber trees to be the ultimate object, we would recommend, for the formation of a large forest, the oak and larch as the trees best to be depended upon.

Our choice of the first will scarce be disputed: it is the natural plant of the island, and grows alike on highland and lowland, luxuriating where the soil is rich, coming to perfection, in many cases, where it is but middling, and affording a very profitable copsewood where it is scanty and indifferent.

Our selection of the larch may seem to some more disputable, but it will only be to such as are disposed to judge from outward show. We cannot, indeed, vindicate this valuable tree in so far as outward beauty is concerned: Wordsworth has condemned its formality at once, and its poverty of aspect. Planted in small patches, the tops of all the trees arising to the same height, and generally sloping in one direction from the prevailing wind, the larch-wood has, we must own, a mean and poor effect: its appearance on the ridge of a hill is also unfavourable, resembling the once fashionable mode of setting up the manes of ponies, called by jockeys *hogging*. But where the quantity of ground planted amounts to the character of a forest, the inequalities of the far-extended surface give to the

larches a variety of outline which they do not possess when arranged in clumps and patches, and furnish that species of the sublime which all men must recognise in the prevalence of one tint of colouring in a great landscape. All who have seen the Swiss mountains, which are clothed with this tree as high as vegetation will permit, must allow that it can, in fitting situations, add effectually to the grandeur of Alpine scenery. In spring, too, the larch boasts, in an unequalled degree, that early and tender shade of green which is so agreeable to the eye, and suggests to the imagination the first and brightest ideas of reviving nature.

If, however, in spite of all that can be pleaded in its favour, the larch should be, in some degree, excluded from ornamental plantations, still the most prejudiced admirer of the picturesque cannot deny the right of this tree to predominate in those which are formed more for profit than beauty. The good sense of the poet we have quoted, which is equal to his brilliancy of fancy, has, indeed, pointed out this distinction; and in the following passage, while he deprecates what we do not contend for, he admits the value of the larch in such rude scenes as we now treat of:—

"To those," says Wordsworth, "who plant for profit, and are thrusting every other tree out of the way to make room for their favourite, the larch, I would utter, first, a regret that they should have selected these lovely vales for their vegetable manufactory, when there is so much barren and irreclaimable land in the neighbouring moors, and in other parts of the island, which might have been had for this purpose at a far cheaper rate. And I will also beg leave to represent to them, that they ought not

to be carried away by flattering promises from the speedy growth of this tree; because, in rich soils and sheltered situations, the wood, though it thrives fast, is full of sap, and of little value; and is, likewise, very subject to ravage from the attacks of insects, and from blight. Accordingly, in Scotland, where planting is much better understood, and carried on upon an incomparably larger scale than among us, good soil and sheltered situations are appropriated to the oak, the ash, and other deciduous trees; and the larch is now generally confined to barren and exposed ground. There the plant, which is a hardy one, is of slower growth, much less liable to injury, and the timber of better quality."[1]

We willingly shake hands with our Miltonic poet, and enter into the composition which he holds out to the profitable planter.

In this capacity, being that which we now occupy, we have much to say in behalf of this same larch-fir. It unites, in a most singular degree, the two opposite, and, in general, irreconcilable qualities of quickness of growth and firmness of substance. In the first, it excels all trees in the forest, and in the second, equals the oak itself.

The mode of preparing or seasoning larch timber is not yet, perhaps, perfectly understood, more especially as the tree is usually cut in the barking season, when it is full of sap, which renders the large wood apt to warp and crack. To avoid this, some take off the bark the season before the tree is cut, upon which subject Mr Monteath gives us this practical information:—

"In the summer of 1815 and 1816, I was employed to thin some plantations for James Johnstone, Esq., of Alva, on his estate of Denovan; and also in the same years, for Thomas Spot-

[1] Wordsworth's Description of the Country of the Lakes.

tiswoode, Esq., of Dunnipace. The trees on both estates were of considerable size, and particularly those on the estate of Dunnipace—many of them containing betwixt thirty and forty solid feet of timber. As part of the trees on both estates were to be used by the proprietors for their own purposes, I had, the year before, cut down and barked a considerable number of larch-fir trees; which, being barked after being cut down, and exposed to the summer's sun, rent in such a manner as to render them of little or no use. To prevent this, if possible, in future, I barked all the larch-trees standing, and allowed them to remain in this state till autumn, which effectually prevented them from rending with the sun or drought. A number of the trees on Dunnipace stood in this peeled state for two summers, and were then cut up; and Mr Spottiswoode caused his carpenter to make from the timber of these trees some bound doors, which made an excellent job, no part of the wood casting or twisting. Since that time I have myself used, and have frequently seen used by others, the timber of larch-fir trees, after having stood twelve months with the bark taken off, then cut down, and immediately cut up into battens for flooring, and also made into bound doors and windows for the better sort of houses, with equal success. This is a clear proof that the plan of taking off the bark from the larch-fir trees, some time previous to their being cut down, will not only prevent the timber from shrinking and twisting, but has also a tendency to harden the timber, and make it more durable, as it gradually throws out the resinous substance to the surface, and causes it, in a greater or less degree, to circulate through the whole timber; and this in so particular a manner, that the white wood of the tree is found equally as hard, and becomes as durable as the red wood. The consequence has been, that I am now decidedly of opinion, that the timber of a larch-fir treated in this way, at thirty years of age, will be found equally durable with that of a tree treated in the ordinary way, cut down at the age of fifty years."—Pp. 239–241.

Mr Monteath gives a process for flaying the unfortunate larch, which we dare say has proved successful under his direction. We must, nevertheless, always consider it as an objection that the stems of the barked trees must continue standing,

like so many Marsyases or Saint Bartholomews, among their more fortunate neighbours; but this is an evil which addresses itself to the eye alone. We believe, however, that there are other effectual modes of seasoning this valuable timber, by steeping it repeatedly, for instance, and thus keeping the outside of the tree moist until the heart gets thoroughly dry. We have seen specimens of such wood, employed in panelling by the ingenious and experienced Mr Atkinson, architect, St John's Wood, which equalled in smoothness of surface, and exactness of jointing, any other wood we have ever seen applied to similar purposes, not excepting mahogany itself. It may also be remarked that, as larch increases in size, its bark becomes of less value, and when the tree produces great timber, it would be no mighty sacrifice to give up all idea of barking, and cut the wood in winter, like that of other trees, and thus season it in the same manner. While the tree is only of the size of a pole, it should be thrown, after barking, into a ditch, or else covered with branches, to exclude the sunbeams. It will then dry gradually without warping, and being dried, will be as hard as iron-wood, and eminently fit for any of the numerous purposes to which sticks of that size can be applied. When we add that the larch will thrive almost upon every soil that is moderately dry, except that which lies on free-stone, and that it ascends higher up the sides of the bleakest mountain than the hardiest of the fir-tribe, we have, we conceive,

assigned sufficient reasons for its preference in selecting trees for an extensive track of ground.

Our next subject of consideration must be, the manner and time of planting the trees, and the distance at which they ought to be placed from each other; and here we beg to express our complete approbation of the old popular proverb, which says —"plant a tree at Martinmas, and command it to grow; plant after Candlemas, and entreat." If the spring months chance to be moist, the trees then planted will succeed well, but the practice must be regarded as precarious. Here our opinion coincides with general practice, but in respect of the following points, we are not, we believe, so fortunate.

It is common, if not universal, to plant the nurses, —that is to say, the firs, which are designed to be gradually felled for thinning the plantation, at the same period of time with the principal trees meant finally to occupy the ground. The consequence of this is, that the nurses are too young to perform their expected duty. Larches and firs are seldom planted above nine inches or a foot long, and are both troublesome and precarious when of a larger size. Oaks, elms, and almost all hard-wood plants, are about twice as long, or from eighteen inches to two feet high, when they are put finally into the ground. The necessary consequence is, that the principal trees have no shelter at all until the nurses have outgrown them. In the mean time they suffer all the evils of premature exposure. The organs by which they raise the sap become hardened, their

barks mossed and rigid: in short, for the first two years, the hard-wood has no shelter at all, and in some climates may be expected to *sit*, as it is called, that is, to become a shrivelled starveling, which lives, indeed, but makes no advance in growth, if, indeed, it does not, as is frequently the case, die down entirely. Accordingly, when a plantation so managed is about three years old, it is the custom of all good foresters to have it revised, and, in the course of the operation, to cut over, within an inch of the ground, all the hard-wood trees which are not found thriving, the number of which is generally as ten to one. The nutriment collected by the roots is thus thrown into new and healthy shoots which arise from the original stem. These, of course, derive from the larch and fir nurses, now grown to two or three feet in height, that shelter which could not be afforded by them to the congenial hard-wood, and the plantation goes on prosperously. This process was and is successful, yet it is obvious that both time and labour would be saved could it be dispensed with—since much trouble must be employed both in cutting down the old plants, and afterwards in reducing to a single shrub the little bushes which run from their stem when cut over. To avoid this necessity, it has been our practice, in latter cases, to plant the nurses in the first place, leaving vacant spaces for the principal trees, which we do not put into the earth for three years afterwards. The consequence is, that the principal trees, receiving from the nurses, at the very moment of their being planted out, that shel-

ter which it is their purpose to communicate, do not, in more than one case out of ten, go back, dwindle, or require to be cut down; much expense of repeated revisal is saved, and the desired purpose is attained as soon, and more perfectly, than by the older practice. However, therefore, the natural impatience of the improver may repine at postponing the planting of his principal trees, he may depend upon it that, in all situations not peculiarly favoured in soil and exposure, he will arrive sooner at his ultimate object by following the slower process.

In planting an extensive tract of ground, as in preparing it, much of the nicer preparation by pitting may be abridged. We do not deny that to make the pits in spring, as recommended by Nicol and other authors, must be a considerable advantage, as the earth in which the new plant is to be set is thus exposed to the influence of the atmosphere until the planting season. On the other hand, this would require double labour along the same extensive district, and our plan is grounded on the strictest economy. Besides, in the desolate regions, which we would fain see clothed with wood, rain is frequent; and should the pits be left open till November or December, they are often exposed to be filled with water, which, remaining and stagnating there, renders the ground so unfit for the plants, that they certainly lose more by such deterioration than they gain by the exposure of the subsoil to the atmosphere.

Our mode of planting them is as follows. A

labourer first takes a turf from the sward or heath, of nine inches or a foot in circumference, and lays it aside, while he digs the pit and works the earth carefully with his spade. His assistant, a woman or a boy, then places the plant in the earth, laying the roots abroad in the natural direction in which they severally diverge from the stem, and taking especial care that none of them are twisted or bruised in the operation, which, if it does not totally destroy it, never fails greatly to retard the growth of the plant. The planter ought to fill in the earth with the same care; and having trod it down in the usual manner, he cuts the turf in two with his spade, and places one half on each side of the plant, so that the straight edges of the two sections meet together at the stem, while the grassy or heathy side lies nearest the earth. This answers two good purposes; the covering prevents the drought from so readily affecting the young plant, and the reversing the turf prevents it from being affected by the growth of long grass, heath, or weeds in its immediate vicinity. When the time of planting the oaks arrives, we would observe the same method, taking only still greater care of working the earth, of adjusting the roots, and of covering the pit.

And here we may hasard an observation, that, of all accidents detrimental to a plantation, those which arise from the slovenly haste of the workman are most generally prejudicial. Sometimes grounds are planted by contract, which, for obvious reasons, leads to hasty proceedings; but, even

where the proprietor's own people are employed, which must be usually the case in undertakings in a distant and wild country, the labourers get impatient, and if not checked and restrained, will be found to perform their task with far more haste than good speed. The experienced woodsman will guard with peculiar care against this great danger; for a tree well planted will be found to grow in the most unfavourable spot, while plants, the roots of which have been compressed, or, perhaps, left partially uncovered, will decay even in the best soil and the most sheltered situation.

We have said, that the forest ought to be planted chiefly with larch and oak, in order to produce an early return, and at the same time to ensure a lasting value; but this is not to be Judaically interpreted, and we must take this opportunity to mention several exceptions.

There are points peculiarly exposed in every extensive plantation, which, if covered with a screen, are found most useful in defending the young woods from the prevailing wind. On such exposed elevations, we would recommend that the Scots fir be liberally intermixed with the larches. It grows more slowly, doubtless, and is an inferior tree to the larch in every respect; but, retaining its leaves during the winter, and possessing at the same time a wonderful power of resisting the storm, it forms, in such places as we have described, a much more effectual shelter than can be afforded by the larch alone. It will be easily conceived, that such a change of colouring in the forest should not be

introduced, as forming defined figures, or preserving precise outlines; but that the different kinds of trees should be intermingled, so as to shade off into the general mass. If this is attended to, the plantation will seem to have been formed by Nature's own cunning hand.

Ere we leave the subject, we may remind the young planter, that the species of fir, which in an evil hour was called *Scotch*, as now generally found in nurseries, is very inferior, in every respect, to the real Highland fir, which may be found in the North of Scotland in immense natural forests, equally distinguished for their romantic beauty and national importance. This last is a noble tree, growing with huge contorted arms, not altogether unlike the oak, and forming therein a strong contrast to the formality of the common fir. The wood, which is of a red colour, is equal to that brought from Norway; and, when a plant, it may be known from the spurious or common fir by the tufts of leaves being shorter and thicker, and by the colour being considerably darker. The appearance of the Highland fir, when planted in its appropriate situation amongst rock and crags, is dignified and even magnificent; the dusky red of its massive trunk, and dark hue of its leaves, forming a happy accompaniment to scenes of this description. Such firs, therefore, as are ultimately designed to remain as principal trees, ought to be of this kind, though it may probably cost the planter some trouble to procure the seed from the Highlands. The ordinary fir is an inferior variety,

brought from Canada not more than half a century ago. Being very prolific, the nursery-gardeners found it easy to raise it in immense quantities; and thus, though a mean-looking tree, and producing wood of little comparative value, it has superseded the natural plant of the country, and is called, *par excellence*, the Scotch fir. Under that name it has been used generally as a nurse, and so far must be acknowledged useful, that it submits to almost any degree of hard usage, as, indeed, it seldom meets with any which can be termed even tolerable. There is a great difference betwixt the wood, even of this baser species, raised slowly and in exposed situations, and that of the same tree produced upon richer soil—the last being much inferior in every respect, because more rapid in growth.

The planter of a large region will also meet with many portions of ground too wet either for the oak or larch, although the former can endure a very considerable degree of moisture. This he will stock, of course, with the alder, the willow, the poplar, and other trees which prefer a subaqueous soil. But we would particularly recommend the spruce-fir, an inhabitant of such marshes. This tree is almost sure to disappoint the planter upon dry and stony ground. Even planted in good soil, it is apt to decay when about twenty or thirty years old, especially the variety called, from the strong odour of its leaves, the balm of Gilead. But in wet grounds, even where very moorish, the spruce grows to a gigantic size, and the wood is excellent. The silver fir will also endure a great

deal of moisture, is one of the hardiest, as well as most stately, children of the forest, and deserves to be cultivated upon a larger scale than that which is usually practised. The woods of Blair Adam, near Kinross, the seat of the Right Honourable William Adam, afford decided proof, that the spruce and silver fir can be raised to the most magnificent trees, in a moist soil, where the substratum appears to be moss.

Before quitting this part of the subject, we may observe that, without prejudice to the general maxims of economy laid down, a proprietor, of ordinary feeling and taste, will find, in an extensive tract of waste lands, numerous recesses where the climate is mild, and the exposure favourable, an occasional intervention, in short, of

'Sheltered places, bosoms, nooks, and bays,"

which may be either left for pasture and cultivation, or filled with other varieties of forest trees than those which we have advised for the woodland in general. In discovering these hidden oases of the desert, the improver will be naturally induced to turn them to account, and vary the character of his silvan dominions, according to the facilities which these *accidents* of vale and glade not only admit of, but invite. This employment cannot fail to be one of the most interesting which a rural life holds out to its admirers. He may deepen the shade of the dim glen by tenanting it with yew, and he may increase the cheerfulness of the sunny glade by sprinkling it with the lighter and gayer children of the forest. But here we

must avoid the temptation, which all writers on plantations, our friends Pontey and Mr Monteath not excepted, are disposed to yield to, where there is such an opportunity for fine description. We remember Lord Byron's reproof to Moore :— "Come, hang it, Tom, don't be poetical." So we sheathe our eloquence, and resume the humble unadorned tone of rural admonition.

We may, however, just hint to planters, as unpoetical as ourselves, that in achieving such a task as we have proposed to them, nature will, in spite of them, realize, in many places, the wishes breathed by improvers of a different description. In the sort of ground which we have described, it happens invariably that particular places are found where the natural wood, in spite of all the causes which combine to destroy it, has used effective efforts to preserve its existence in the various forms of scattered and stunted trees, tangled and briery copsewood, and small shoots of underwood, which, kept down by the continual browsing of the cattle, affords only twigs, the existence of which is scarcely manifest among the grass. In all these cases, the remains of natural wood arising rapidly, when protected by enclosures against the intrusion of cattle, volunteer their services to the planter. These are often so important, that, by properly trimming the old wood, the introduction of new plants may, in many cases, be altogether dispensed with. In others, the small twigs, invisible when the ground was planted, come up afterwards as underwood, and serve for the purpose of harbouring game or form-

ing thickets. Nay, in some, this natural growth will be found "something between a hinderance and a help," encumbering, and sometimes altogether overpowering and superseding the artificial planting. The trees which thus voluntarily present themselves, as the natural tenants of the soil, are oak, hazel, mountain-ash, thorns of different kinds, hackberry (called bird-cherry), holly, &c., in the dry places; and in those which incline to be moist, the alder and willow. The forester may look with almost an absolute certainty for the arrival of these volunteer supplies, if he plants a space of two or three hundred acres. They serve to beautify the operations of art, by adding the wild colouring and drapery of nature. According to the old school of planting, it was the business of the forester to destroy, upon such occasions, the natural productions of the soil, in order to protect the much more worthless plants with which he had himself stocked it. Thus, we know a large plantation, in which a natural oak copse was twice rooted out, in order to protect one of base Canadian firs; yet when the woods afterwards began to be managed with more taste and knowledge, the oaks still remained strong enough, despite these two attempts at extirpation, to supersede the intruders; and they constitute at this time the principal part of the existing wood.

We are now come to the distance to be observed betwixt the plants, on putting them into the ground. This is a subject on which different opinions are maintained; opinions which, however, we think have been unnecessarily placed in oppo-

sition to each other:—the mode of planting closely, or putting in the trees at a greater distance, being each preferable or inferior to the other in relation to the situation of the plantation, and the purposes for which it is destined.

And considering this most important point, with relation to the number of the principal trees designed to remain as the ultimate stock on the land, we must confess our opinion, that the number of hard-wood trees planted is generally much greater than is necessary. A common rule allots the space of six or seven feet betwixt each principal plant. This seems far too large an allowance, and adds greatly to the expense of planting, without producing any correspondent return. If planted so near each other, a great number of the hard-wood trees must be taken out as weedings, before they attain any marketable value; and, as they shoot up again after they are cut down, they are apt to interfere with the growth of the trees which it is the object of the planter finally to cherish, unless the roots themselves are got rid of by the expensive operation of grubbing. If the hard-timber trees are planted at ten or twelve feet distance from each other, there will be room enough left for them to attain a foot in diameter before it is necessary to remove any of them. When planted at a smaller distance than the above, many must certainly be removed ere they have attained any value, while the operation, at the same time, gives to the proprietor the painful feeling attached to destroying a fine plant in its very bloom of promise. But this, like

many other maxims concerning planting, is liable to be controlled by circumstances. In forming a plantation near a residence, it may be of great importance to place the hard-wood plants at six or eight feet distance, especially if the soil or exposure be indifferent. This gives the planter, at the distance of ten or twelve years, a choice in selecting the particular trees which will best suit the situation, and the power at the same time of rendering the wood a complete screen, by cutting down the others for under-wood, the introduction of which beauty and utility alike recommend. If there are still thriving young trees, which it is necessary to remove, they are, in such a case, useful to the proprietor: he may plant them out as ornamental trees either upon his lawn; or, as we have ourselves practised, these outcasts of the plantation may be scattered about in the neighbouring pastures. If they are planted with a little care among such patches of furze as usually occur in sheep-ground, with some attention to shelter and soil, it is really wonderful how few of them fail, certainly not above one out of ten, even where no great attention is bestowed on the process, except by cleansing such sheltered spots for receiving the trees. Those that dwindle must be cut, even after standing a year; they will generally send up fine shoots upon the season following. Here, however, we are again straying from our immediate task; for profit and pleasure are so intimately united in this delightful pursuit, that it is frequently difficult to distinguish where their paths separate. Upon the whole,

however, it may be considered as unnecessary extravagance in a plantation of great extent, and calculated chiefly for profit, to place the principal or hard-wood trees nearer than twelve feet. Should one be found to fail, its place may be easily supplied by leaving a larch as a principal tree in its room, an exchange which ultimately leaves little ground for regret.

The quantity of nurses (which, according to our mode of planting, will be chiefly larches, intermingled with Scotch firs where exposure requires it) should seem also a relative question, to be decided by circumstances. If there is a favourable prospect for the sale of the weedings of the plantation at an early period, there can be no doubt of the truth of the old maxim—"Plant thick, and thin early." In this case the larches may be set within three and a half feet of each other generally over the plantation, leaving them somewhat more distant upon the places peculiarly sheltered, and placing them something closer upon exposed ridges, and in rows formed to interrupt the course of the prevailing winds.

If the planting thrives, the larches will, in the fifth or sixth year, require a thinning, the produce of which, in an inhabited country, will certainly be equal to the expense. The bark, for example, will produce from four to five pounds a-ton, or otherwise, in proportion to the value of oak bark, amounting usually to one half the value of that commodity. The peeled sticks, from an inch and a half to three inches diameter, find a ready demand. The smallest

are sawed into stakes for supporting the nets with which sheep are secured when eating turnips off the ground, and immense numbers are wanted for this purpose on the verge of hilly districts. They fetch, generally, about a shilling per dozen. The larger larches make paling of various descriptions, gates for enclosures, &c., &c. For all these purposes, the larch is admirably calculated, by its quality of toughness and durability. The profits derived from these first thinnings can receive small addition from the produce of the Scotch fir, which will, at this period, be worth little else than what it will bring for fire-wood at the nearest village. But we must repeat, that even this first and least productive course of thinning will do more than clear the expense bestowed, in situations where the country can be considered as peopled.

There are, however, extensive Highland wastes, which of all other ground, we would most desire to see planted, where the improver must expect no such return. The distance of markets, the want of demand, deny that profit in the larch wildernesses of the North, which is derived from those more favourably situated, and where every stick, almost every twig, may be brought advantageously to sale. If, therefore, the plantations be as closely filled up in the former case as in the latter, one of two things must happen—either that the thinnings are made at considerable expense over a waste tract of wood-land, without any reimbursement from the proceeds; or else the plantation remains unthinned, to the unspeakable prejudice of the

wood, since no trees can thrive unless on the condition of removing a part, to give an additional portion, both of soil and air, to those which remain. This painful dilemma may be avoided by preserving such a distance betwixt the plants, when originally put into the ground, as will make thinning unnecessary, until they shall have attained a more considerable value. It has been found by experience, that larches in particular will grow very well, and even in situations of an unpromising character, if placed at the distance of ten or twelve feet from each other, and may therefore be suffered to remain for ten or twelve years without any thinning. The trees thus taken out will be from six inches to a foot in diameter; and, if no other demand occurs, a great quantity of them may be employed in forming internal enclosures in the wood itself, if, as in a large tract of forest ground and in a high country is often highly advisable, it is judged proper to restore a part of the land to the purpose of pasture. This has been a mode of improvement long practised by the Duke of Athol, in the north of Perthshire, where, to his infinite honour, he has covered whole regions of barren mountains with thriving wood, and occupied, with herds of black cattle, extensive pastures, which formerly lay utterly waste and unproductive.

A singular and invaluable quality of the larch-fir, first remarked, or at least first acted on, by the patriotic nobleman whom we have named, has given the means of altogether appeasing the fears of those well-meaning persons, who apprehended

that the great extent of modern plantations might, in time, render timber too abundant in the country to bring any remunerating price, while at the same time it would draw a great proportion of land from the occupation of flocks or herds. The larch plantations are experimentally found, by the annual casting of their leaves, to lend material aid to the encouragement of the fine and more nutritive grasses; while, at the same time, they cause the destruction of the heath and other coarser productions of vegetation. The cause of this is obvious. The finer grasses—white clover, in particular—exist in abundance in the bleakest and most dreary moors, although they cannot in such disadvantageous soil become visible to the eye, until encouraged by some species of manure. If any one doubts this, he may be satisfied of the truth, by cutting up a turf in the most barren heath in his vicinity, and leaving it with the heathy side undermost in the place where it was cut. Or he may spread a spade-full of lime upon a square yard of the same soil. In either case, the spot so treated will appear the next season covered with white clover. Or the same fact may be discovered by observing the roads which traverse extensive heaths, the sides of which are always greensward, although of the same soil, and subject to the same atmosphere, with the rest of the moor. The blowing of the triturated dust, impregnated with horse-dung, has in this case produced the same effect which the application of lime or the turning the turf, in the former experiments, is calculated to attain. The

clover, whether as a seed or plant our dull organs cannot discover, being thus proved to exist in the worst soils, and to flourish on the slightest encouragement, there is no difficulty in understanding how the larch-trees, constantly shedding their leaves on the spot where they are planted, should gradually encourage the clover to supersede the heath, and, by doing so, convert into tolerable pasture-land that from which no animal excepting a moor-cock could derive any species of sustenance. We understand the fact to be, that, by the influence of this annual top-dressing, hundreds, nay, thousands of acres have been rendered worth from five to ten shillings an acre, instead of from sixpence to, at the utmost, two shillings. Whoever knows any thing of the comparative value of heath and green-sward pasture, will agree that the advantages of converting the one into the other are very moderately stated at the above ratio, and this wonderful transformation is made without the slightest assistance from human art, save that of putting in the larch plants.

If it is judged advisable to profit to the uttermost by this ameliorating quality of the larch-tree, the expense of the original plantation will be very considerably diminished, as it will be, in that case, unnecessary to plant any oaks in it, and the whole expense of setting it with larches alone, cannot, in such parts of the country as we are acquainted with, approach to twenty shillings an acre. To this must be added ten years' rent of the field, which we may suppose, on an average, a shilling

per acre, making, on the whole, an outlay of thirty shillings per acre. The cost of enclosing, and the loss of interest, are to be added to this sum. No other expenses have been incurred during these ten years; for the distance at which the trees are originally planted has rendered thinning unnecessary until that space has expired. In the spring of the eleventh year, then, if the bark is considered as an object, a general revising of the plantation takes place, when, probably, one-third part of the larches may be removed. It must be under very disadvantageous circumstances indeed, that four hundred larches do not, in bark and timber, repay all the expenses of fencing by any cheap method, together with the compound interest on the rent and the expenses of thinning. The acre, therefore, which has cost but thirty shillings for the larch woods, may, at ten years old, be occupied as pasture, without much danger to the trees, which cattle and sheep are not known to crop. For this sum the proprietor receives back his acre of land, with a crop of eight hundred larch-trees, twelve years old, which, valued but at three-pence a-piece, are worth ten pounds, but which may be more reasonably estimated at a much greater sum, and which, without costing the owner a farthing, but, on the contrary, increasing his income by thinnings from time to time, will come, in process of time, to be worth hundreds, nay, thousands, of pounds. At the same time, the larches have been, in a manner, paying rent for the ground they occupy, by the amelioration of the grass, which is uniformly so

great as to treble and quadruple what the land was worth at the first time of planting. To all this large profit is to be added the comfort which the cattle experience in a well-sheltered pasture, where they have at once shade in summer, warmth in winter, and protection in the storm.

Yet great and important as are the advantages attending the Athol mode of planting, we would not willingly see it supersede the culture of the oak, the staple commodity of this island; nor do we believe it is permitted to do so in the country of the noble duke himself. But it is evident, that the greatest possible advantage is to be derived from combining the two different systems, and intermixing plantations to be kept entirely for wood, and consisting chiefly of oak and larch, with others which, consisting only of larch-trees, are to be occupied as pasture after the tenth or twelfth year. The beauty, as well as the productive quality, of the region to be planted, will be increased by blending the systems together, and uniting them at the same time with that of copse plantations, on which we are next about to make some remarks.

The mode of cultivating the *sylva cædua*, or copsewood destined to the axe, has been greatly improved by a discovery of our author, or, at least, a practice which he has been the first to recommend—the propagating the oak, namely, by layering from the double shoot of young saplings. We will here permit this practical and sound-headed forester to speak for himself:—

"The method of layering from the sprig of a plant is well

known to all nurserymen; but we must carry the matter a little farther when we go to the forest. The method of layering in forests, which is agreed on by all those who have tried it is of the very first and greatest advantage in filling up blanks in a natural or coppice wood: and with this we may commence. When the young shoots in a natural wood have finished their second year's growth, say in the month of November or December the second year (and here, by the way, it may be proper to observe, that, when layering is required, the stools of natural wood should not be thinned out the first year, as is directed in the section on rearing of natural or coppice woods), every shoot should be allowed to grow till the layering is performed, the second year's growth being finished as aforesaid. If the stools have been healthy, these will have made a push of from six to nine feet high. If there is a blank to fill up on every side of the stool, take four of the best shoots, and layer them down in different directions in the following manner; take the stem or shoot from the stool; give it a slash with a knife in the under side, very near the stool or root, to make it bend; often the shoot at this age will bend without using the knife; give it also a slash with your knife about one inch above the eye next the top of the shoot. Should there be but one small shoot near the top, and that chance to be next the ground, not to twist the leader or layer, give the shoot a twist round the body of the layer, and bring it upwards. Make a rut in the ground about six inches long, and of sufficient width to receive the body of the layer. Pin the layer firmly down in the slit below the surface of the earth. This may be easily and readily done with a small pin of wood, about six inches long, with a hook upon its upper end, to keep down the body of the layer; which pins can easily be got from the branches of trees in the wood. Having pinned it firmly down below the surface of the ground, cover over the layer with the turf from the rut; or a little fresh earth may be put in, and press it firmly down, holding up the end of the young shoot from the body of the layer, pressing the ground about the root of it the same as putting in a plant by pitting, &c., leaving also the top of the shoot or stem thus layered down out of the ground. Thus the layering is performed, and in one year, if the root or stool from which the layer is taken, be healthy, the top shoot, and the shoot to form the tree, say the small shoot or eye from the top, will make a push of at least two, and I have even known them grow four feet in one season. Nor is there the smallest chance of their misgiving. The top shoot

having made a push again in two years of very possibly from eight to nine feet, it can be again layered down, and led out other eight or nine feet; thus in four years completely planting up and covering the ground on all sides from sixteen to eighteen feet (and supposing you have stools or roots on the ground at a distance of from thirty to forty feet), in five years, you can completely plant up the whole ground without the expense of a single plant. Nor is there the least risk of their miscarrying in one single case, if properly done; and here also you have a plantation of plants, or we may now rather call them trees, of from four to fourteen feet high, which, by putting in plants, you could not have had for twelve years, besides the expense of much filling up."—MONTEATH, p. 47-50.

In another part of the same work he gives directions for forming a new copse-wood where no old plants exist, and his manner is well worthy the attention of the experimental planter. He proposes that only twenty-seven plants shall be placed in an English acre. Each of these being cut over yearly for five or six years, will, he reckons, produce, in the sixth, plants fit for layering; and having gone twice through that process, they will, in the course of eight years, fill up the ground with shoots at the distance of eight feet from each other, being the distance necessary in a copse-plantation. Screens and nurses of larch we would think highly conducive to the perfection of these operations.

Whether formed by planting or by layering, the cultivation of copse-wood is a matter of the highest importance, and seldom fails to be the most certain produce of a Highland gentleman's estate, where the woods are properly treated and regularly cut. The oak coppice will flourish on the very face of the most broken ground, however encumbered with rocks, and where it is impossible to conceive how the roots can obtain any nourish-

ment, except from the rain which oozes among the clefts and crevices of the rock. And as to exposure, Mr Monteath informs us that the copse-woods in Scotland, and particularly in Argyleshire, on the very tops of hills from five hundred to one thousand feet above the level of the sea, are equally healthy, produce equally good bark, and are nearly equally productive with those in the vales, although they are exposed to every wind that blows.

In order to give some idea of the profit attending these copse-woods, the following calculation was made for a nobleman who had lately succeeded to a very extensive tract of mountainous country. It was supposed that, being willing regularly to dedicate a sum, which the amount of his income made a moderate one, to this species of improvement, there should be selected each year in the most convenient places, and those where shelter was most likely to benefit the pasture, a hundred acres of waste and unprofitable ground, to be planted or layered as copse-wood. The amount of rent thus sacrificed, for reasons already given, would be very trifling indeed. The expense of planting and enclosing, presuming it to be carried on with liberality and even profusion, could not, in any reasonable view, exceed four hundred pounds. To meet the labour and expense of revision, the proprietor would have the value of thinnings, which, supposing the nurses to be larch, would be found much more than adequate to the purpose of reimbursing them. A similar space of

land was supposed to be regularly planted on every year for twenty years, or two or three more, as the general progress of the plantations might render necessary. The hundred acres first planted would then be ready for a fall, the produce of which would afford at least four tons of bark to an acre, and taking the price at ten pounds a-ton, which is certainly not extravagant, would bring in four thousand pounds in return for four hundred expended twenty years before. The subsequent copses being cut in regular rotation, in the order in which they were planted, the noble proprietor would be found to have added four thousand pounds yearly to his estate, in the space of two or three and twenty years; and it is unnecessary to add that the private gentleman who can but afford to plant the tenth part of the extent, must, if the site of his wood is well chosen, derive proportional advantage. It cannot be denied, however, that the larger the size of the plantations, the more likely they are to be thriving and productive.

The copse-wood cannot pretend to the dignity of the forest, yet it possesses many advantages. The standing wood must be one day felled, and then it is centuries ere it can arise again in its pristine majesty; nay, as fellers are seldom planters, it too often happens that, once fallen, the mature forest falls for ever; the proprietor feels a sort of false shame in supplying with pigmy shrubs the giants which he has destroyed, and the term when the damage can be repaired is so far beyond the ken of man, that the attempt is relinquished in de-

spair. The copse-wood, on the contrary, enjoys a species of immortality, purchased, indeed, like that of Nourjahad in the Oriental tale, by intervals of abeyance. Its lease of existence may be said to be purchased by fine and renewal, a portion of it being cut in succession every twenty years. The eye is no doubt wounded for the time by the fall of the portion annually destined for the market, but the blank may be masked by leaving occasional standards, and nature hastens to repair it. In the course of three years, the copse which has been felled generally again assumes its tufted appearance, and in two or three years more, is as flourishing and beautiful as ever.

But the *sylva cædua* possesses more solid advantages. In the first place, there are doubtless many situations in mountainous districts admirably calculated to grow wood, but where it would be injudicious to raise full-grown timber, on account of the difficulty, nay, impossibility, of bringing it into the market. Bark, on the contrary, a light substance and easily transported, can be brought from the most remote and inaccessible recesses of the forest, without the expense of conveyance greatly diminishing the profit of the planter. The peeled timber is also an object in those districts where fuel is scarce, besides the demand for charcoal in others, and the consumption of the larger pieces in country work. In many places there is a demand for the oak boughs and twigs, to make what is called the pyro-ligneous acid, now so generally used instead of vinegar

Besides their certain return of annual profit, copse-woods, when formed on entailed estates, have the great advantage of affording to every heir of entail in possession, his fair share of this species of property, while, at the same time, it is almost impossible for him to get more. Large woods of standing trees are planted by prudence and foresight, and maintained and preserved by the respect of successive proprietors, in order, perhaps, ultimately to supply the necessities of some extravagant or dissipated possessor, the shame and ruin of the line. But in the case of copse-wood, such an "unthrifty heir of LINNE" can only receive the produce of what regularly falls to be cut during his time; nor can the amount be increased, or the time of payment accelerated, either by the rapacity or necessity of the proprietor. This is a subject well worth the consideration of those who are anxious about the preservation of their landed estate in their own family.

Thus it will be observed, that each of these several modes of planting has its own peculiar advantages, and far from being bigoted to any one of them, to the total exclusion of others, the proprietor ought, before commencing his operations, to consider maturely, whether his purpose should be to raise a standing wood, to improve his pasturage by the use of larches exclusively, or to crop the land by means of copse-wood, under regular and systematical management. Where plantations of a moderate extent are concerned, the question must be determined by local circumstances, but a

large plan affords means of embracing the whole, and can hardly be accounted perfect without exhibiting specimens of the dark majesty of the forest, the gentler beauties of the copse, and the succession of verdant pastures, intermixed with stately and valuable larch-trees, which the Athol system is so well qualified to introduce. By one or other, or all of these methods, the utmost capabilities of the soil will be brought forth, and the greatest change induced in the face of nature which it is possible for human reason to devise, or human power to execute.

We should not have accomplished the task which we proposed, did we not mention, though superficially, the two grand operations of pruning and thinning, without which every one now allows there can be no rapidly growing plantations, or clean, valuable wood. They are both subjects much better understood than they were twenty years ago, when it was common, for example, to prune off all the under branches of a plant, without considering that this severe operation was destroying the means with which nature provides the plant for drawing up the sap, and thus depriving it of the means of increasing in size; while, with similar incongruity, the upper branches were left to form a thick round head, subject to the action of every storm that blows. Since the publication of Mr Pontey's treatise, every one worthy to possess a pruning knife is aware that the top of the young plant must be thinned for the encouragement of the leading shoot, and the side boughs only removed in cases where

they are apt to rival the stem, or rob it of too much nourishment; and in other cases made so to balance each other, that the tree, when swayed by the wind, may, like a well-trimmed vessel, as speedily as possible recover its equilibrium. We have not, indeed, found that the system of very severe pruning, and removing very many of the side branches, has, under our observation, added so much to the thickness and weight of the stem as it appears to have done under Mr Pontey's management in better climates; but the general principle which he lays down is indisputable, and has produced much advantage. Neither is it necessary now to renew the caution, that the pruning work should be entirely performed by the hand-knife, or by the chisel and mallet, and, consequently, during the infancy of the plant. The woodsman can scarce commit a greater blunder than by postponing this most necessary operation until it becomes indispensable to employ the axe, when ten men will not perform the work of one at the earlier period, and when the wounds which might have been inflicted without injury in the infancy of the plant, are sure permanently to disfigure and deteriorate the young tree.

But it may not be so unnecessary to remind the young planter, that the safe and proper time for pruning hard-wood is the summer months, when the sap, having ascended, is stationary in the tree, and before it begins again to descend. It is true, all authors agree that to prune a tree while the sap is in motion, either upwards or downwards, is the ready way to cause it to bleed to death. But

there are authors and practical foresters, who continue to hold the heretical opinion that winter is as safe, or even a safer period for pruning, than summer. Nicol, for example, in his useful *Planter's Kalendar*, falls into this error, and enjoins pruning during the winter months. Yet his experience might have convinced him of its inexpedience. During summer, there always exudes, upon the face of the wound, a thin, gummy fluid, which in a few days seals it up, and skins it over. We have never observed that the plant has any tendency to renew the branches removed at this season. But where the same cut is inflicted in winter, the plant is apt to suffer from the action of the frost upon the raw wound; and, moreover, when the spring months arrive, the forester will observe numerous new shoots pushed out from the scar of that which has been removed, and is thus apprised that his task is but imperfectly performed. As to the necessity of pruning, in general, it is proved by a single glance at the short stems and overgrown heads of the greater part of the oaks found in natural woods, compared with the close upright trunks of those which have felt, in infancy, a judicious application of the pruning-knife. The part of the tree, in the former case, which can be sawn out as useful timber, is not, perhaps, above three feet in length, while the stem of the latter has been trained upwards to the height of fourteen. It is in vain to contradict these facts by an appeal to nature. Nature is equally favourable to all her productions. It is the same to her whether

the oak produces timber or boughs, and whether the field produces grain or tares. Human skill and art avail themselves of the operations of nature, by encouraging and directing them towards such results as are most useful to mankind. When we see nature raise a field of wheat, we may expect her to produce a whole forest of clean, straight, profitable timber—till then we must be content to employ plough and harrow in the one case—hatchet and pruning-knife in the other.

The mode of thinning is greatly altered and improved of late years. The sordid and narrow-minded system, which postponed the operation until the thinnings should be of some value, is now, we hope, exploded. To treat a plantation in one way or other, with reference to the value to be derived from the thinning, would be as if a carpenter should cut out his wood, not with relation to the ultimate use which he was to make of it, but to the chips which the operation was to produce. These, indeed, are not to be thrown away, if they can be profitably disposed of; but it would be wild to permit them to be considered as a principal object. In modern times, we rarely see those melancholy wrecks of woods which had once been promising, but where the nurses have been allowed to remain until they choked and swallowed the more valuable crop, which they had been intended to shelter; and where the former existence of oaks, elms, and ashes is only proved by a few starting bushes, which, being near the verge of the plantation, have, by straggling and contorting their

boughs, contrived to get as much of the atmosphere as is sufficient to keep them alive, whilst the interior of the wood presents only a dull and hopeless succession of spindle-shanked Scotch firs, which, like a horde of savages, after having invaded and ruined a civilized and wealthy province, are finally employed in destroying each other. Timely thinning, commenced in the fifth season after planting, and repeated from time to time as occasion requires, effectually prevents this loss of hopes, plants, and labour.

We would just beg leave to remark, that it is an indifferent, though too frequent mode of thinning, which prescribes the removal of a certain number of plants, a sixth part, or as the case may be, indifferently over the whole plantation. On the contrary, we would be disposed to thin freely the bottoms, hollows, and sheltered places, so that the nurses should be entirely removed, in the first instance, from those places where their presence is least necessary, while they are permitted to retain their station longer on the verges of the wood, or on those exposed heights where, like division hedges in large gardens, they have been originally planted with a view of shelter to the lower ground. In process of time, however, these verges and heights must be gradually thinned out; for warmth and shelter cannot make amends to trees, any more than to mankind, for the want of vital air. It requires the attentive watchfulness of the forester to discover where, or in what proportion, the air

is to be introduced into an exposed plantation upon the windward side. If the screen is too speedily opened, the trees, suddenly exposed to cold and stormy winds, become disordered in the sap-vessels, hide-bound, and mossed, and, finally, dwindle into unsightly shrubs, or, perhaps, die entirely. If the air be not admitted at all, or in due quantities, they are equally sure to wither and decay for want of breath. This dilemma arises from not observing the address, so to call it, with which trees adapt themselves to an exposed or more sheltered situation. On the outside of the plantation, in hedge rows, or where they stand single or in small groups, trees have great heads, short stems, thick and rugged barks, all of which are accommodated to their peculiar situation; the short stems giving them most resistance against the storm, the great branches best balancing the tree when swayed by the gale, and the thick, rugged bark protecting the sap-vessels against the inclemency of the weather. For the contrary reasons, trees of the same species, placed within the shelter of a grove, rise with clēar stems, covered with thin and smooth bark, having lofty, but small heads, and all the attributes of a plant accustomed to a milder climate. But if the shelter be allowed to become too close, the tree, like a valetudinary in an over-heated room, becomes injured by the very means adopted for its preservation. On the other hand, if the physician wished to allow such a patient a fresher atmosphere, he

would certainly allow him time to put on warmer clothing. To pay the same respect to the trees in the interior of our plantation, the outside trees must be thinned, and they must be thinned gradually. Some managers of woods contrive to combine both errors, by neglecting the necessary thinning for years, and finally setting about it with a hasty and unsparing hand. Time and experience alone can teach the forester to observe a medium course in this important operation; but as to thinning, in general, it may be received as a maxim, that he who spares the axe hates the wood.

The duty, indeed, requires in its own nature some share of stoical resolution, nor is it to be approached without a feeling of reluctance. The lonely, secluded, sheltered appearance of your plantation is violated by the intrusion of your hatchetmen; you look with regret on the hopeful tall plants, whose doom you are about to seal, and feel yourself in the same moment unable and unwilling to select which of the darling family, a family of your own planting and rearing, are to perish for the benefit of the survivors. Neither is it very consolatory to look upon the altered scene after the havoc has taken place. It is but four years since, where no employment was so grateful as that of watching and protecting the growth of the trees that are now lying prostrate on the ground; your old secret path, encumbered by boughs and branches, seems rudely laid bare to the sun. Many of the trees which remain, in spite of the woodman's

utmost care, have suffered by the fall of their companions, and

> "the broken boughs
> Droop with their withered leaves, ungracious sign
> Of devastation."

The scene is not improved by the mangled appearance of larches and firs, which, destined to the axe on the next occasion, have, in the mean time, been deprived of side branches, like the more notorious criminals, who are mutilated of their limbs before they are executed. In a word, the whole scene seems one of violation, and in its consequences resembles the ravage of the nut-gatherer, as described by Wordsworth:—

> "Then up I rose,
> And dragg'd to earth both branch and bough with crush
> And merciless ravage; and the shady nook
> Of hazels, and the green and mossy bower,
> Deformed and sullied, patiently gave up
> Their quiet being. . . . . .
> I felt a sense of pain, when I beheld
> The silent trees and the intruding sky."

—But a visit to the plantation in the ensuing June will more than recompense the pain which is natural to the performance of this act of duty. All then is again grown fair and green and shady; the future groves affording appearance of improvement, which rarely fails to surprise the spectator, and your firmness in the preceding season is compensated by the certain indications that large progress has been made in the accomplishment of your patriotic as well as profitable object.

Mr Monteath's work is, in many important respects, of consequence to the planter. It is written in the simple, homely manner of one, whose hand is better accustomed to the knife than to the pen, and, without any particular formal order, touches more or less upon most of the forester's operations. He has devised a useful machine for measuring the quantity of wood in standing trees—he has thrown out hints for the preservation and the cure of the dry rot in timber, and upon diseases in growing trees; he has treated of the mode of valuing and selling bark, and several other subjects; and as he speaks generally from practical knowledge, we may, using a phrase of Chaucer, in somewhat a different sense, fairly dismiss him with the compliment paid to the Squire's Yeoman, in the *Canterbury Tales*:—

"Of wood-craft can he well all the usage."

We may be blamed in these desultory remarks for not having said something upon the subject of planting woods from the acorn, instead of the nursery. We have heard this recommended by great authority, which, moreover, vindicated the practice of leaving nature to work her own work in her own manner, when, it was asserted, the strongest and best trees would work forwards, fight with the others, and save us the trouble of pruning and thinning, by weeding out the inferior plants. We have planted acorns on this system, and the first show of young oaklings which appeared, rose almost like "a bonny *braird* of wheat." But notwithstanding

this fine promise, the plantation came to nothing. If the young plants fought with each other, they must have fought what cockers call a Welsh main, for only tens were left out of hundreds and thousands. The mice had probably their share in bringing about this catastrophe; the hares a still greater one; but the indifferent success of the experiment, in which five or six hogsheads of acorns were lost, induced us to renounce the experiment as being at least precarious in its results. In the plantations of a friend, a vast number of Spanish chestnuts were sown chiefly with a view to underwood, and they made such progress, at first, as induced us to apply for some seed of the same kind from Portugal. Our correspondent fell into the small mistake of supposing the chestnuts were wanted for the table, and with that view had them all carefully peeled. This was a great disappointment, at first, but we comforted ourselves in finding the promise of the chestnuts did not exceed in performance that of our own acorns. We, therefore, hold, that the sowing seeds in a wild country is a very doubtful measure, and that the only way to ensure a thriving plantation, is to stock it from a well-managed nursery, at no great distance from the spot where your trees are to arise.

Mr Monteath suggests a principle of planting, which might certainly be rendered very advantageous to tenants, by admitting them into a share of the benefit to be derived from planting upon the land occupied by him. Of the great advantages which arise from this to the farmer, he gives

the following striking example, which may be equally quoted as an example of the profits of planting in general:

"The farm of Crosscaple, parish of Dunblane, and barony of Kinbuck, Perthshire, was taken by Mr J. Dawson for two nineteen, say thirty-eight years, and entered to in 1777, or 1778, at the annual rent of L.26 sterling. There was a clause in the lease, that Mr Dawson, the tenant, should, if he had a mind, plant all the wet ground that he did not think proper to plough, with trees of any kind; and the tenant should be at liberty to use what of that wood he required, during the currency of his lease, for all the husbandry purposes on the said farm, as well as for all the houses he required, or saw meet to erect on said farm. At the end, or expiration of said lease, all the standing timber was to be valued by two persons, mutually chosen by landlord and tenant. And it was expressly stipulated, that if the two valuators chosen did not agree, they were to choose a third person, and his opinion betwixt the arbiters was to be binding on both parties; and to their valuation the landlord was to pay the tenant in ready money. In February, 1817, the year after the lease expired, Mr M'Arthur, forester in Drummond Castle, was chosen by and on the part of James Dawson, then the tenant (and now living in Dunblane), as his valuator: and I was appointed by the trustees for behoof of the heir of Kippenross, then a minor. We met on the ground, and each for himself valued the wood. After comparing our valuations, there was a difference of about L.25 sterling. We then named Mr William Stirling, architect, Dunblane, who divided the difference; and all parties having agreed, fixed the value of the wood on said farm at L.1029 sterling; which sum was promptly paid by the trustees of the estate to the tenants. The whole rent of the farm, paid annually for thirty-eight years, amounted to L.988 sterling. The value paid by the proprietor for the wood was L.1029, being L.41 more than all the rents of the farm during the whole lease; besides, after the first ten years, the tenant had a sufficiency of timber for all house and husbandry purposes during the remainder of his lease. Let it be here observed, that, in valuing the said wood, we proceeded on the data of its being all cut down at the time, and brought to market, which was twenty per cent lower than the like timber was selling for a few years before that time. The tenant being left to the freedom of his own will, as

to the kind of trees to plant, he very injudiciously planted mostly Scotch firs; whereas, had he planted oak and ash, the soil and situation being well adapted for these kinds, he would have had nearly three times that sum to receive."—*Introduction*, p. xlii.—xliv.

Notwithstanding the favourable results upon the farm of Crosscapel, we must confess our opinion, that in most cases the entire property and management of the wood had better be left with the proprietor. To the tenant it will always be a secondary object, and often one which is altogether neglected. We know an instance in a Highland farm, of which a lease of three lives was granted many years ago. The lease contained such a clause as our author recommends, not permitting merely, but binding the tenant to plant a certain number of acres during the currency of the lease, of which he was to have the use during the term, and an indemnification at the expiry of his lease for the value of the trees that should be left. One would have thought that during the successive possession of three tenants, some one of them would have endeavoured to derive advantage from this clause in their favour; but the event was, that at the end of the lease the out-going tenant was obliged to plant the requisite number of acres in order to fulfil his bargain, and thus left the proprietor a newly-planted and infant wood, for which the tenant had recently paid the expense of enclosing and planting, instead of a thriving and full-grown plantation, for which he would have had to receive several thousand pounds.

In this case the wood was not planted at all;

but though the farmer is a little more industrious, it is still less likely to thrive under his management, and attended to by his ordinary farm-servants, than in the hands of an expert forester and his assistants. Indeed it has always seemed to us not the least important branch of this great national subject, that the increase and the proper management of our forests cannot but be attended with the most beneficial effect on the population of the country. Where there lies stretched a wide tract of land, affording scanty food for unsheltered flocks, the country will soon, under a judicious system, show the scene most delightful to the eye—an intermixture of pastoral and silvan scenery, where Ceres, without usurping the land, finds also spots fit for cultivation. For even the plough has its office in this species of improvement. In numerous places we are surprised to see the marks of the furrows upon plains, upon bleak hill sides, and in wild moor land. We are not to suppose that, in the infancy of agriculture, our ancestors were able to raise crops of corn where we see only heath and fern. But in former times, and while the hills retained their natural clothing of wood, such spots were sheltered by the adjacent trees, and were thus rendered capable of producing crops. There can be no doubt that, the protection being restored, the power of production would again return, and that in the neighbourhood of the little hamlets required for the occupation of the foresters the means of his simple subsistence would be again produced. The effects of human industry would, as usual,

overbalance every disadvantageous consideration, and man would raise food for himself and his domestic animals in the region where his daily labour gained his daily bread.

There would thus arise in the wild desert a hardy and moral population, living by the axe and mattock, pursuing their useful occupation in a mode equally favourable to health and morality. The woods, requiring in succession planting, pruning, thinning, felling, and barking, would furnish to such labourers a constant course of employment. They would be naturally attached to the soil on which they dwelt, and the proprietor who afforded them the means of life would be very undeserving if he had not his share of that attachment. In a word, the melancholy maxim of the poet would be confuted, and the race of bold peasantry, whom want and devastation had driven from these vast wilds, would be restored to their native country. This circumstance alone deserves the most profound attention from every class of proprietors; whether the philosophical economist, who looks with anxiety for the mode of occupying and supporting an excess of population, or the juvenile sportsman, who seeks the mode of multiplying his game, and increasing the number of his *gardes de chasse*. The woods which he plants will serve the first purpose, and, kindly treated, his band of foresters will assist in protecting them.

We may be thought to have laboured too long to prove propositions which no one can reasonably dispute; yet so incalculably important is the object—

so comparatively indifferent is the attention of proprietors, that it becomes a duty to the country to omit no opportunity of recurring to the subject.

The only decent pretext which we hear alleged for resisting a call which is sounded from every quarter, is the selfish excuse, that the profits of plantations make a tardy and distant return. To a person who argues in this manner it is in vain to speak of the future welfare of the country, or of the immediate benefit to the poorer inhabitants, or of the honour justly attached to the memory of an extensive improver, since he must be insensible even to the benefit which his own family must derive from the improvement recommended; we can, notwithstanding, meet him on his own ground, and affirm that the advantage to the proprietor who has planted a hundred acres begins at the very commencement of the undertaking, and may be realized whenever it is the pleasure of the proprietor that such realization shall take place. If, for example, he chooses to sell a plantation at five years old, or at an earlier period, there is little doubt that it will be accounted worth the sum which the plantation cost him, in addition to the value of the land, and also the interest upon the expense so laid out. After this period the value increases in a compound *ratio:* and at any period when the planter chooses to sell his property, he must and will derive an advantage from his plantations, corresponding to their state of advancement. It is true that the landed proprietor's own interest will teach him not to be too eager in

realising the profits of his plantations, because every year that he retains them adds rapidly to their value. But still the value exists as much as that of the plate in his strong-box, and can be converted as easily into money, should he be disposed to sell the plantations which he has formed.

All this is demonstrable even to the prejudices of avarice itself, in its blindest mood; but the indifference to this great rural improvement arises, we have reason to believe, not so much out of the actual lucre of gain as the fatal *vis inertiæ*—that indolence which induces the lords of the soil to be satisfied with what they can obtain from it by immediate rent, rather than encounter the expense and trouble of attempting the modes of amelioration which require immediate expense—and, what is, perhaps, more grudged by the first-born of Egypt—a little future attention. To such we can only say, that improvement by plantation is at once the easiest, the cheapest, and the least precarious mode of increasing the immediate value, as well as the future income, of their estates, and that therefore it is we exhort them to take to heart the exhortation of the dying Scotch laird to his son:—"Be aye sticking in a tree, Jock—it will be growing whilst you are sleeping"

ARTICLE XV.

ON LANDSCAPE GARDENING.

[*The Planter's Guide; or, a Practical Essay on the best Method of giving immediate effect to Wood, by the removal of large Trees and Underwood. By* Sir HENRY STEUART, Bart. *Edinburgh*, 8vo, 1828.—*Quarterly Review, March*, 1828.]

THE notable paradox, that the residence of a proprietor upon his estate is of as little consequence as the bodily presence of a stockholder upon Exchange, has, we believe, been renounced. At least, as in the case of the Duchess of Suffolk's relationship to her own child, the vulgar continue to be of opinion that there is some difference in favour of the next hamlet and village, and even of the vicinage in general, when the squire spends his rents at the manor-house, instead of cutting a figure in France or Italy. A celebrated politician used to say he would willingly bring in one bill to make poaching felony, another to encourage the breed of foxes, and a third to revive the decayed amusements of cock-fighting and bull-baiting—that he would make, in short, any sacrifice to the

humours and prejudices of the country gentlemen, in their most extravagant form, providing only he could prevail upon them to "dwell in their own houses, be the patrons of their own tenantry, and the fathers of their own children." However we might be disposed to stop short of these liberal concessions, we agree so far with the senator by whom they were enounced, as to think every thing of great consequence which furnishes an additional source of profit or of pleasure to the resident proprietor, and induces him to continue to support the useful and honourable character of a country gentleman, an epithet so pleasing in English ears,—so dear to English feelings of independence and patriotism. The manly lines of Akenside cannot fail to rush on the memory of our readers, nor was there such occasion for the reproach when it flowed from the pen of the author, as there is at this present day.

> "O blind of choice, and to yourselves untrue!
> The young grove shoots, their bloom the fields renew,
> The mansion asks its lord, the swains their friend,
> While he doth riot's orgies haply share,
> Or tempt the gamester's dark destroying snare,
> Or at some courtly shrine with slavish incense bend!"

Amidst the various sources of amusement which a country residence offers to its proprietor, the improvement of the appearance of the house and adjacent demesne will ever hold a very high place. Field-sports, at an early season in life, have more of immediate excitation; nor are we amongst those who condemn the gallant chase, though we cannot, now-a-days, follow it: but a country life

has leisure for both, if pursued, as Lady Grace says, moderately; and we can promise our young sportsman, also, that if he studies the pursuits which this article recommends, he will find them peculiarly combined with the establishment of covers, and the protection of game.

Agriculture itself, the most serious occupation of country gentlemen, has points which may be combined with the art we are about to treat of—or, rather, those two pursuits cannot, on many occasions, be kept separate from each other; for we shall have repeated occasion to remark, how much beauty is, in the idea of a spectator, connected with utility, and how much good taste is always offended by obvious and unnecessary expense. These are principles which connect the farm with the pleasure-ground or demesne.—Lastly, we have Pope's celebrated apology for the profuse expense bestowed on the house and grounds of Canons—if Canons, indeed, was meant—

> "Yet hence the poor are clothed, the hungry fed;
> Health to himself, and to his children bread,
> The labourer bears."

The taste of alterations may be good or bad, but the labour employed upon them must necessarily furnish employment to the most valuable, though often the least considered of the children of the soil,—those, namely, who are engaged in its cultivation.

Horace Walpole, in a short essay, distinguished by his usual accuracy of information, and ornamented by his wit and taste, has traced the history of

gardening, in a pictural sense, from the mere art of horticulture to the creation of scenery of a more general character, extending beyond the narrow limits of the proper garden and orchard. We venture, however, to think that this history, though combined by a master-hand, is in some degree imperfect, and confounds two particulars which our ancestors kept separate, and treated on principles entirely different—the garden, namely, with its ornaments, and the park, chase, or riding, which, under various names, was the proudest appurtenance of the feudal castle, and marked the existence of those rights and privileges which the feudal lord most valued.

The garden, at first intended merely for producing esculent vegetables, fruits, and flowers, began to assume another character, so soon as the increase of civilisation tempted the feudal baron to step a little way out of the limits of his fortifications, and permitted his high dame to come down from her seat upon the castle walls, so regularly assigned to her by ancient minstrels, and tread with stately pace the neighbouring precincts which art had garnished for her reception. These gardens were defended with walls, as well for safety as for shelter: they were often surrounded with fosses, had the command of water, and gave the disposer of the ground an opportunity to display his taste, by introducing canals, basins, and fountains, the margins of which admitted of the highest architectural ornament. As art enlarged its range, and the nobles were satisfied with a display of magnificence,

to atone for the abridgement of their power, new ornaments were successively introduced; banqueting houses were built; terraces were extended, and connected by staircases and balustrades of the richest forms. The result was, indeed, in the highest degree artificial, but it was a sight beautiful in itself —a triumph of human art over the elements, and, connected as these ornamented gardens were with splendid mansions, in the same character, there was a symmetry and harmony betwixt the baronial palace itself, and these its natural appendages, which recommended them to the judgment as well as to the eye. The shrubs themselves were artificial, in so far as they were either exotic, or, if indigenous, were treated in a manner, and presented an appearance, which was altogether the work of cultivation. The examination of such objects furnished amusement to the merely curious, information to the scientific, and pleasure, at least, to those who only looked at them, and passed on. Where there was little extent of ground, especially, what could be fitter for the amusement of "learned leisure," than those "trim gardens," which Milton has represented as the chosen scene of the easy and unoccupied man of letters? He had then around him the most delightful subjects of observation, in the fruits and flowers, the shrubs and trees, many of them interesting from their novelty and peculiar appearance and habits, inviting him to such studies as lead from created things up to the Almighty Creator. This sublime author, indeed, has been quoted, as bearing a testimony against the artificial

taste of gardening, in the times when he lived, in those well-known verses:—

> "Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art
> In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
> Poured out profuse on hill, and dale, and plain,
> Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
> The open field, and where the unpierced shade
> Embrowned the noontide bowers. Thus was this place
> A happy rural seat of various view."

This passage expresses exquisitely what park-scenery ought to be, and what it has, in some cases, actually become; but, we think, the quotation has been used to authorize conclusions which the author never intended. Eden was created by the Almighty fiat, which called heaven and earth into existence, and poets of genius much inferior, and falling far short of Milton in the power of expressing their meaning, would have avoided the solecism of representing Paradise as decorated with beds and curious knots of flowers, with which the idea of human labour and human care is inevitably connected—an impropriety, indeed, which could only be equalled by that of the French painter, who gave the skin dress of our first father the cut of a court suit. Milton nobly conceived that Eden, emanating directly from the Creator, must possess that majestic freedom which characterises even the less perfect works of nature, and, in doing so, he has anticipated the schemes of later improvers. But we think it extremely dubious, that he either meant to recommend landscape gardening on an extensive scale, or to censure those "trim gardens," which he has elsewhere mentioned so affectionately.

A garden of this sort was an extension of the splendour of the residence into a certain limited portion of the domain—was, in fact, often used as a sort of chapel of ease to the apartments within doors; and afforded opportunities for the society, after the early dinner of our ancestors, to enjoy the evening in the cool fragrance of walks and bowers. Hence, the dispersed groups which Watteau and others set forth as perambulating the highly ornamented scenes which these artists took pleasure in painting. Sometimes the hospitality of old England made a different use of these retreats, and tenanted the pleasure-ground with parties of jolly guests, who retired from the dining-parlour to finish the bottle, *al fresco*, on the bowling-green and in its vicinity. We have heard, for example, that, in a former generation, this used to be the rule at Trentham, where a large party of country-gentlemen used to assemble once a-week, on a public day appointed for the purpose. At a certain hour the company adjourned to the bowling-green, where, according to their different inclinations, they played at bowls, caroused, lounged, or smoked, and thus released their noble landlord from all further efforts to keep up the spirit of the entertainment. The honest Staffordshire squires were not, perhaps, the most picturesque objects in the world, while thus engaged, with countenances highly illuminated,

"With a pipe and a flask, puffing sorrow away;"

but the circumstance serves to show that such *plai-*

sances as we have described formed convenient, as well as agreeable accompaniments to the mansion of a nobleman, who, having a certain duty to perform towards his neighbourhood, was accommodated by that arrangement of his pleasure-ground which enabled him to do the thing with most satisfaction to his guests, and least personal inconvenience to himself.

Such were the uses of the old fashioned and highly ornamented style of gardening. Its beauty, we have been informed by a sure, nay, we will add, the surest guide on such a subject, consists in its connexion with the house—

"Where architectural ornaments are introduced into the garden about the house, however unnatural raised terraces, fountains, flights of steps, parapets with statues, vases, balustrades, &c. may be called—however our ancestors may have been laughed at (and I was much diverted, though not at all convinced with the ridicule) for walking up and down stairs in the open air—the effect of all these objects is very striking; and they are not more unnatural, that is, not more artificial, than the houses they are intended to accompany."[1]

Nothing is more completely the child of art than a garden. Its *artificial* productions are necessarily surrounded by walls, marking out the space which they occupy as something totally distinct from the rest of the domain, and they are not seldom distinguished by the species of buildings which their culture requires. The green-houses and conservatories necessary to complete a garden on a large scale are subjects susceptible of much ornament,

[1] Price's Essays on the Picturesque, vol. ii., p. 135.

all of which, like the plants themselves, must be the production of art, and art in its most obvious phasis. It seems right and congruous that these objects, being themselves the offspring of art, should have all the grace of outward form and interior splendour which their parent art can give them. Their formality is to be varied and disguised, their shapes to be ornamented. A brick wall is, in itself, a disagreeable object; but its colour, when covered with green boughs, and partially seen through them, produces such a rich effect as to gratify the painter in a very high degree. Upon the various shapes and forms of shrubs, creepers, and flowers, it is unnecessary to dilate; they are the most beautiful of nature's works, and to collect them and arrange them with taste is the proper and rational purpose of art. Water, even when disposed into the formal shapes of ponds, canals, and artificial fountains, although this may be considered as the greatest violence which can be perpetrated upon nature, affords effects beautiful in themselves, and congenial with the presence of ornamented architecture and artificial gardening. Our champion, Price himself, we presume to think, rather shrinks from his ground on this particular point, and may not be willing to follow his own banner so far as we are disposed to carry it. He justifies fountains only on the ground that natural *jets-d'eau*, though rare, do exist, and are among the most surprising exhibitions of nature: these, he thinks, must *therefore* be proper objects of imitation; and since art cannot emulate

these natural fountains in greatness of style and execution, she is justified in compensating her weakness by symmetry, variety, and richness of effect. Now we are inclined, with all the devotion of reverence for Sir Uvedale Price, to dispute the ground of his doctrine on this subject, and to affirm, that whether the *geyser*, or any other natural *jet-d'eau* existed or no, the sight of a magnificent fountain, either flinging up its waters into the air and returning down in showers of mist, which make the ascending column resemble a giant in a shroud, or broken into other forms of importance and beauty, would still be a captivating spectacle; and the tasteful veteran argues, to our fancy, much more like himself when he manfully contends, that the element of water is as fitly at the disposal of the professor of hydraulics as the solid stone is at that of the architect. It has been a long time fashionable to declaim against architectural water-works, and to ask triumphantly, what are *les eaux* of Versailles to the cataracts of the Nile and of Niagara, to the falls of Schaffhausen, or even to those of the Clyde? The answer is ready to a question which is founded on the meanest of all tastes—that which arises from comparison. The water-works of Versailles are certainly inferior to the magnificent cascades which we have mentioned; but we suspect they have been talked of by many authors who have never witnessed what is not now an everyday sight. Those who *have* seen that exhibition will certainly say they have witnessed a most magnificent and

interesting scene, far beyond what they might have previously supposed it was within the compass of human art to produce.—We do not mean to say that the expense was altogether well laid out which was necessary to bring the waters of the Seine by the mediation of a complicated bundle of sticks, to throw *summersets* at Versailles. This is entirely a separate affair. The present question merely is, whether, the money being spent, and the water-works completed, a great example of human power over the elements has not been given, and a corresponding effect produced? We, at least, are prepared to answer in the affirmative.

Wealth, in this, as in other respects, has proved a snare, and played "many fantastic tricks before high heaven." If we approve of Palladian architecture, the vases and balustrades of Vitruvius, the enriched entablatures and superb stairs of the Italian school of gardening, we must not, on this account, be construed as vindicating the paltry imitations of the Dutch, who clipped yews into monsters of every species and description, and relieved them with the painted wooden figures which are seen much in the attitude of their owners, silent and snugly smoking at the end of the paltry walk of every *Lust-huys*. This *topiarian* art, as it was called, came into England with King William, and has left strong and very ungraceful traces behind it. The distinction betwixt the Italian and Dutch is obvious. A stone hewn into a gracefully ornamented vase or urn has a value which it did not before possess; a yew hedge

clipped into a fortification is only defaced. The one is a production of art the other a distortion of nature. Yet now that these ridiculous anomalies have fallen into general disuse, it must be acknowledged that there exist gardens, the work of Loudon, Wise, and such persons as laid out ground in the Dutch taste, which would be much better subjects for modification than for absolute destruction. Their rarity *now* entitles them to some care as a species of antiques, and unquestionably they give character to some snug, quiet, and sequestered situations, which would otherwise have no marked feature of any kind. We ourselves retain an early and pleasing recollection of the seclusion of such a scene. A small cottage, adjacent to a beautiful village, the habitation of an ancient maiden lady, was for some time our abode. It was situated in a garden of seven or eight acres, planted about the beginning of the eighteenth century by one of the Millars, related to the author of the *Gardener's Dictionary*, or, for aught we know, by himself. It was full of long straight walks betwixt hedges of yew and hornbeam, which rose tall and close on every side. There were thickets of flowering shrubs, a bower, and an arbour, to which access was obtained through a little maze of contorted walks, calling itself a labyrinth. In the centre of the bower was a splendid platanus, or Oriental plane —a huge hill of leaves—one of the noblest specimens of that regularly beautiful tree which we remember to have seen. In different parts of the garden were fine ornamental trees which had

attained great size, and the orchard was filled with fruit-trees of the best description. There were seats and trellis-walks, and a banqueting-house. Even in our time this little scene, intended to present a formal exhibition of vegetable beauty, was going fast to decay. The parterres of flowers were no longer watched by the quiet and simple *friends* under whose auspices they had been planted, and much of the ornament of the domain had been neglected or destroyed to increase its productive value. We visited it lately, after an absence of many years. Its air of retreat, the seclusion which its alleys afforded, was entirely gone; the huge platanus had died, like most of its kind, in the beginning of this century; the hedges were cut down, the trees stubbed up, and the whole character of the place so much destroyed, that we were glad when we could leave it. This was the progress of innovation, perhaps of improvement: yet, for the sake of that one garden, as a place of impressive and solemn retreat, we are inclined to enter a protest against the hasty and ill-considered destruction of things which, once destroyed, cannot be restored.

We may here also notice a small place, called Barncluth, in Lanarkshire, standing on the verge of the ridgy bank which views the junction of the Evan with the Clyde. Nothing can be more romantic than the scene around: the river sweeps over a dark rugged bed of stone, overhung with trees and bushes; the ruins of the original castle of the noble family of Hamilton frown over the

precipice; the oaks which crown the banks beyond those grey towers are relics of the ancient Caledonian forest, and at least a thousand years old. It might be thought that the house and garden of Barncluth, with its walks of velvet turf and its verdant alleys of yew and holly, would seem incongruous among natural scenes as magnificent as those we have described. But the effect generally produced is exactly the contrary. The place is so small, that its decorations, while they form, from their antique appearance, a singular foreground, cannot compete with, far less subdue the solemn grandeur of the view which you look down upon; and thus give the spectator the idea of a hermitage constructed in the midst of the wilderness.

Those who choose to prosecute this subject farther, will find in Sir U. Price's book his regret for the destruction of a garden on the old system, described in a tone of exquisite feeling, which leads that distinguished author to declare in favour of many parts of the old school of gardening, and to argue for the preservation of the few remains of ancient magnificence that still exist, by awakening the owner to a sense of their beauties.

It were indeed high time that some one should interfere. The garden, artificial in its structure, its shelter, its climate, and its soil, which every consideration of taste, beauty, and convenience recommended to be kept near to the mansion, and maintained, as its appendage, in the highest state of ornamental decoration which could be used with reference to the character of the house itself, has,

by a strange and sweeping sentence of exile, been condemned to wear the coarsest and most humbling form. Reduced to a clumsy oblong, enclosed within four rough-built walls, and sequestered in some distant corner where it may be best concealed from the eye to which it has been rendered a nuisance, the modern garden resembles nothing so much as a convict in his gaol apparel, banished, by his very appearance, from all decent society. If the peculiarity of the proprietor's taste inclines him to the worship of Flora or Pomona, he must attend their rites in distance and secresy, as if he were practising some abhorred mysteries, instead of rendering an homage which is so peculiarly united with that of the household gods.[1]

Such being the great change in this department of rural economy, let us next look at that which has taken place in another no less essential part of it. The passionate fondness of our ancestors for the chase is often manifested in their choice of a residence. In an ancient inscription on the house of Wharncliffe, we are informed that the lodge was built in Henry VIII.'s time, by one gentle knight, Sir Thomas Wortley, that he might hear the buck *bell* in the summer season—a simple record, which speaks much to the imagination. The space of ground set apart for a park of deer must, to answer its purpose, possess the picturesque qualities which afford the greatest scope for the artist: there ought

[1] The present Duke of Marlborough has *all but* violated this law, much to the honour of his taste, at White-Knights; and more recently, we hear, at Blenheim.

to be a variety of broken ground, of copse-wood, and of growing timber—of land, and of water. The soil and herbage must be left in its natural state; the long fern, amongst which the fawns delight to repose, must not be destroyed. In short, the stag, by nature one of the freest denizens of the forest, can only be kept under even comparative restraint, by taking care that all around him intimates a complete state of forest and wilderness. But the character of abode which is required by these noble animals of the chase is precisely the same which, from its beautiful effects of light and shadow, from its lonely and sequestered character, from the variety and intricacy of its glades, from the numerous and delightful details which it affords on every point, makes the strongest and most pleasing impression on all who are alive to natural beauty. The ancient English poets, Chaucer and Spenser in particular, never luxuriate more than when they get into a forest: by the accuracy with which they describe particular trees, and from their noticing the different characters of the different species, and the various effects of light and darkness upon the walks and glades of the forest, it is evident that they regarded woodland scenery not merely as associated with their favourite sports, but as having in itself beauties which they could appreciate, though their age was not possessed of the fascinating art of committing them to canvass. Even the common people, as we noticed in a former Article, seldom mention "the good forest," and "the merry green-wood," without some expres-

sion of fondness, arising, doubtless, from the pleasure they took in the scenes themselves, as well as in the pastimes which they afforded.

We are not, however, to suppose, that the old feudal barons made ornamental scenery any part of their study. When planting their parks, or when cutting paths and glades through them, their attention was probably entirely occupied with the protection of the deer and convenience of the huntsman. Long avenues were particularly necessary for those large parties, resembling our modern *battues*, where the honoured guests being stationed in fit *standings*, had an opportunity of displaying their skill in venery, by selecting the buck which was in season, and their dexterity at bringing him down with the cross-bow or long-bow; and hence all the great forests were pierced by these long rectilinear alleys which appear in old prints, and are mentioned in old books. The following description of Chantilly, by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, though the scene is in France, and on a scale of unusual grandeur and extent, is no bad picture of the domains by which the feudal nobility surrounded their castles and manor-houses, and of the dignified character of the mansions themselves.

"A little river, descending from some higher grounds, in a country which was almost all his (the Constable de Montmorency's) own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which, to keep drawing forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined—some of the ancestors of the Montmorencys, to ease the river of this labour, made clear channels through this rock, to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by this means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong

castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures, and statues; all which buildings, erected as I formerly told, were encompassed about with water. . . . . One might see the huge carps, pikes, and trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily. Yet nothing, in my opinion, added so much to the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining to it, and upon a level with the house; for, being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwood, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild-boar, stag, and roe-deer, was cut into long walks every way, so that although the dogs might follow their chase through the thickets, the huntsman might ride along the sand walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art that they led to all the parts in the said forest.'

Charles V., when passing through France, was so delighted with Chantilly, as to declare he would have given a province in the Low Countries to have possessed such a residence; and the reader must be exclusively prejudiced indeed to the modern system, who cannot image to himself the impression made by the gorgeous splendour of the chateau, contrasted with the wilderness of the surrounding forest.

If the reader will imagine a house in the irregular form of architecture which was introduced in Elizabeth's time, its varied front, graced with projecting oriels, and its angles ornamented with turrets; its columnar chimneys, so much adorned as to make that a beauty which is generally a deformity; its fair halls, banqueting-rooms, galleries, and lodgings for interior accommodation,—it will afford no uncomfortable notion of the days of good Queen Bess. In immediate and close connexion with the mansion lie its gardens, with their ter-

races, urns, statues, staircases, screens, alcoves, and summer-houses; its dry paved or turfed walks, leading through a succession of interesting objects, the whole line of architecture corresponding with that of the house, with its Gothic labels and entablature, but assuming gradually a plainer and more massive character, as the grounds extended and seemed to connect themselves with the open country. The inhabitants possessed the means, we must also suppose, of escaping from this display of ostentatious splendour to the sequestered paths of a lonely chase, dark enough and extensive enough to convey the idea of a natural forest, where, as in strong contrast with the scene we have quitted, the cooing of the wood-pigeon is alone heard, where the streams find their way unconfined, and the trees spread their arms untortured by art; where all is solemn, grand, and untutored, and seems the work of unassisted nature. We would ask the reader, when he has arranged in his ideas such a dwelling, with its accompaniments, of a natural and ornamental character, not whether the style might be corrected by improving the internal arrangement of the apartments; by diminishing the superfluous ornaments of the *plaisance;* by giving better, yet not formal, access to the natural beauties of the park, extending its glades in some places, and deepening its thickets in others—for all this we willingly admit; but whether our ancestors did not possess all that good taste could demand as the materials of most delightful habitations?

The civil wars of Charles I.'s time, as they laid

low many a defensible house of the preceding period, disparked and destroyed in general the chases, ridings, and forest walks which belonged to them; and when the Restoration followed, the Cavaliers who had the good luck to retain their estates, were too poor to re-establish their deer-parks, and, perforce, contented to let Ceres reassume the land. Thus the chase or park, one of the most magnificent features of the ancient mansion, was lost in so many instances, that it could be no longer regarded as the natural and marked appendage of the seat of an English gentleman of fortune. The "trim garden," which could be added as easily to the suburban villa as to the sequestered country-seat, maintained its place and fashion no longer; while the French taste of Charles II.'s time, introducing *treillages* and *cabinets de verdure*, and still more, the Dutch fashion, brought in, as we have before hinted, by King William, introduced so many fantastic caprices into the ancient style, that it became necessary, as we have already stated, to resort to the book of nature, and turn over a new leaf.

Kent, too much extolled in his life, and, perhaps, too much dispraised since his death, was the first to devise a system of laying out ground different from that which had hitherto prevailed in general, though with some variations in detail, for perhaps a century and a half. It occurred to this artist, that, instead of the marked distinction which was made by the old system between the garden and its accompaniments on the one hand, and the sur-

rounding country on the other, it might be possible to give to the former some of the simplicity of the country, and invest that, on the other hand, with somewhat of the refinement of the garden. With this view, all, or nearly all, the ancient and domestic ornaments of the *plaisance* were placed under ban. The garden, as already noticed, was banished to as great a distance as possible; the *plaisance* was changed into a *pleasure-ground!* Down went many a trophy of old magnificence, court-yard, ornamented enclosure, foss, avenue, barbican, and every external muniment of battled wall and flanking tower, out of the midst of which the ancient dome rising high above all its characteristic accompaniments, and seemingly girt round by its appropriate defences, which again circled each other in their different gradations, looked, as it should, the queen and mistress of the surrounding country. It was thus that the huge old tower of Glamis, "whose birth tradition notes not," once showed its lordly head above seven circles (if we recollect aright) of defensive boundaries, through which the friendly guest was admitted, and at each of which a suspicious person was unquestionably put to his answer. A disciple of Kent had the cruelty to render this splendid old mansion, the more modern part of which was the work of Inigo Jones, more *parkish*, as he was pleased to call it; to raze all those exterior defences, and bring his mean and paltry gravel-walk up to the very door from which, deluded by the name, one might have imagined Lady Macbeth (with the form and fea-

tures of Siddons) issuing forth to receive King Duncan. It is thirty years and upwards since we have seen Glamis; but we have not yet forgotten or forgiven the atrocity which, under pretence of improvement, deprived that lordly place of all its appropriate accompaniments,

> "Leaving an ancient dome and towers like these
> Beggared and outraged."

The ruling principle that dictated Kent's innovations was in itself excellent. The improver was considered as a painter, the landscape as the canvass on which, with such materials as he possessed, he was to display his power. Thus far the conception was laudable; and, indeed, it had already occurred to Sir John Vanbrugh, when consulted about laying out the grounds at Blenheim, who recommended to the Duke of Marlborough to advise with a landscape-painter upon that subject, as the most competent judge. Had Kent but approached in execution the principle which he adopted in theory, he would have been in reality the great man that his admirers accounted him. But, unhappily, though an artist by profession, this father of the English landscape was tame and cold of spirit; his experience had not made him acquainted with the grander scenes of nature, or the poverty of his soul had not enabled him to comprehend and relish them. Even the Nature whom he pretended to choose for his exclusive guide seemed to have most provokingly disappeared from him. By the time that spades, mattocks, and pickaxes had formed and sloped his declivities in the regular and undulating

line which he required,—that the water's edge had been trimly bordered with that thin, lank grass, which grows on a new sown lawn, and has so little resemblance to the luxuriant vegetation of nature, —his meagre and unvaried slopes were deprived of all pretension to a natural appearance, as much as the toes which were pinched, squeezed, and pared, that they might be screwed into the little glass slipper, were different from the graceful fairy foot which it fitted without effort. Thus, while Kent's system banished art from the province which might, in some degree, be considered as her own, he introduced her into that more especially devoted to Nature, and in which the character of her exertions always made her presence offensively conspicuous. For water-works and architectural ornaments, the professed productions of art, Kent produced *ha-has!* sheets of artificial water, formal clumps and belts of trees, and bare expanded flats or slopes of shaven grass, which, indicating the recent use of the levelling spade and roller, have no more resemblance to that nature which we desire to see imitated, than the rouge of an antiquated coquette, having all the marks of a sedulous toilet, bears to the artless blush of a cottage girl. His style is not simplicity, but affectation labouring to seem simple.

It is worth notice, that, while exploding the nuisance of graven images in the ancient and elaborate gardens, Kent, like some of the kings of Israel, though partly a reformer, could not altogether wean himself from every species of idolatry.

He swept, indeed, the gardens clear of every representation of mythology, and the visiter's admiration was no longer excited by beholding

> "Statues growing that noble place in,
> All heathen goddesses most rare,
> Homer, Plutarch, and Nebuchadnezzar,
> All standing naked in the open air."

But to make amends for their ejection, Kent and his followers had temples, obelisks, and gazabos of every description in the park, all stuck about on their respective high places, with as little meaning, and at least as little pretension to propriety, as the horticultural Pantheon which had been turned out of doors.

The taste for this species of simplicity spread far and wide. Browne, the successor of Kent, followed in his footsteps; but his conceptions, to judge from the piece of artificial water at Blenheim (formed, we believe, chiefly to blunt the point of an ill-natured epigram), were more magnificent than those of his predecessor. We cannot, however, suppose old Father Thames so irritable as this celebrated professor intimated, when he declared that the river would never forgive him for having given him so formidable a rival.

The school of spade and mattock flourished the more, as it was a thriving occupation, when the projector was retained to superintend his improvements—which seldom failed to include some forcible alteration on the face of nature. The vanity of some capability-men dictated those violent changes which were recommended chiefly by the cupidity

of others. While the higher-feeling class were desirous, by the introduction of a lake, the filling up a hollow, or the elevation of a knoll, to show to all the world that Mr —— had laid out those grounds; the meaner brothers of the trade were covetous of sharing the very considerable sums which must be expended in making such alterations. Mannerists they were to the extremity of monotony, and what they extolled as new and striking, was frequently only some trick of affectation. For example, a pupil of Browne, Robertson by name, laid out the grounds of Duddingstone, near Edinburgh. The place was flat, though surrounded by many distinguished features. A brook flowed through the grounds, which, by dint of successive dam-heads, was arrested in its progress, twisted into the links of a string of pork-sausages, flung over a stone embankment, and taught to stagnate in a lake with islets, and swans *quantum sufficit.* The whole demesne was surrounded by a belt, which now, at the distance of forty or fifty years, is still a formal circuit of dwindled trees. It was to be expected that some advantage might have been gained by looking out from some point of the grounds on Craigmillar Castle, a ruin beautiful in its form and interesting in its combinations with Scottish history; and the professor of landscape-gardening was asked, why so obvious a resource had not been made something of? He replied, with the gravity becoming such a character, that Craigmillar, seen over all the country, was a common prostitute. A less

ludicrous, though equally nonsensical reason, for excluding Duddingstone Loch, a small and picturesque lake, was, that it did not fall within his lordship's property, and the mountain of Arthur's Seat was not excluded, only because it was too bulky to be kept out of sight. We have heard the excellent old Lord Abercorn mention these circumstances with hearty ridicule; but he suffered Mr Robertson to take his own way, because, he said, every man must be supposed to understand his own business,—and partly, we may add, because he did not choose to take the trouble of disputing the point. Yet this Mr Robertson was a man of considerable taste and acquirement, and was only unsuccessful because he wrought upon a bad system.

The founders of a better school, were the late Mr Payne Knight, and Sir Uvedale Price, who still survives to enjoy the triumph he has achieved. These champions, and particularly Price, succeeded in demonstrating to a deceived public, that what had been palmed upon them as nature and simplicity were only formality and affectation; the contest on behalf of the new system was chiefly maintained by Mr Repton, and in a manner which shows that the private feelings of that layer out of grounds, unquestionably a man of very considerable talents, were more than half converted to the opinions of Sir Uvedale, and that he was disputing rather to save his own honour, and that of his brethren, than for any chance of actual victory. In fact, we do not much overstate the matter when we allege, that those who were least willing to own

that Price was right, because it would have been a virtual acknowledgment that they themselves were wrong, were among the first to admit in practice the principles which he recommended, or, at least, to make use of them, whether they admitted them or no. There has been, since this controversy, that is, for these thirty years past, a considerable and marked improvement in laying out of pleasure-grounds—the spade and shovel have been less in use—the strait-waistcoating of brooks has been less rigorously enforced; and improvers, while talking of Nature, have not so remorselessly shut her out of doors. We believe most landscape-gardeners of the present day would take a pride in preserving scenery, which their masters of the last age would have made conscience to destroy. The mummery of temples and obelisks is abolished, while the propriety of retaining every shred connected with history or antiquity, is, in one system at least, religiously preserved. In such cases,

> "A corner-stone by lightning cut,
> The threshold of a cottage hut,"

may have their value. The same rule is, we trust, generally observed in the scenes which Nature has herself ornamented, and the artist holds himself discharged, if he consults and observes her movements without affecting to dictate to or control them. Those glens, groves, or mountains, which she has marked with a peculiar character, are no longer defaced by the impotent endeavours of man to erase it.

The tendency of our national taste indeed has been changed, in almost every particular, from that which was meagre, formal, and poor, and has attained, comparatively speaking, a character of richness, variety, and solidity. An ordinary chair, in the most ordinary parlour, has now something of an antique cast—something of Grecian massiveness, at once, and elegance in its forms. That of twenty or thirty years since was mounted on four tapering and tottering legs, resembling four tobacco-pipes; the present supporters of our stools have a curule air, curve outwards behind, and give a comfortable idea of stability to the weighty aristocrat or ponderous burgess who is about to occupy one of them. The same change in taste may be remarked out of doors, where, from the total absence of ornament, we are, perhaps, once more verging to its excess, and exhibiting such a tendency to ornament, in architecture and decoration, that the age may, we suspect, be nothing the worse for being reminded that, as naked poverty is not simplicity, so fantastic profusion of ornament is not good taste.

But in our landscape-gardening, as it has been rather unhappily called, although the best professors of the art have tacitly adopted the more enlarged and liberal views provided by the late Mr Knight and Sir U. Price, these are not, perhaps, so generally received and practised as could be desired. We say the art has been unfortunately named. The idea of its being, after all, a variety of the gardening art, with which it has little or

nothing to do, has given a mechanical turn to the whole profession, and certainly encouraged many persons to practise it, with no greater qualifications than ought to be found in a tolerably skilful gardener. This certainly, however intelligent and respectable the individuals may be, is not the sort of person, in point of taste and information, to whom we would wish to see the arrangement of great places intrusted. The degree of mechanical skill which they possess may render them adequate to the execution of plans arranged by men of more comprehensive abilities, better education, and a possession, as demanded by Price, of the knowledge connected with the higher branch of landscape-painting, and with the works of the first masters. Far from threatening the disposers of actual scenery with an abrogation of their profession, as was unjustly stated to be his object, Price's system went to demand from them a degree of scientific knowledge not previously required, and to elevate in proportion their rank and profession in general estimation.

The importance of this art, in its more elegant branches, ranks so high in our opinion, that we would willingly see its profession (and certainly it contains persons worthy of such honour) more closely united with the fine arts than it can now be esteemed. The improvers or layers out of ground would, in that case, be entitled to demand from their employers a greater degree of fair play than is, in many cases, allowed them at present. According to the common process, their time is esti-

mated at a certain number of guineas per day, and the party consulting them is not unnaturally interested in getting as much out of the professor within as little time as can possibly be achieved. The landscape-gardener is, therefore, trotted over the grounds two, three, or four times, and called upon to decide upon points which a proprietor himself would hesitate to determine, unless he were to visit the ground in different lights, and at different seasons, and various times of the day during the course of a year. This leads to a degree of precipitation on the part of the artist, who knows his remuneration will be grudged, unless he makes some striking and notable alteration, yet has little or no time allowed him to judge what that alteration ought to be. Hence, men of taste and genius are reduced to act at random; hence an habitual disregard of the *genius loci*, and a proportional degree of confidence in a set of general rules, influencing their own practice, so that they do not receive from nature the impression of what the place ought to be, but impress on nature, at a venture, the stamp, manner, or character of their own practice, as a mechanic puts the same mark on all the goods which pass through his hands. Some practise the art, we are aware, upon a much more liberal footing;—it is on that more liberal footing that we would wish to see the profession of the improver generally practised. We would have the higher professors of this noble art to be that for which nature has qualified some of them whom we have known, and, doubtless, many to whose characters we are stran-

gers—we mean, to be physicians—liberally recompensed for their general advice—not apothecaries, to be paid in proportion to the drugs which they can contrive to make the patient swallow.

It may, perhaps, be thought that, by the change we propose, we would raise too high a standard for such artists as might attain great proficiency in their calling, and so limit the benefit of their efforts to the great and the wealthy. This would be a consequence far from answering our purpose—but we have no apprehension that it would follow. The rules of good taste, when once exemplified, are pretty sure to be followed. Let any one recollect the atrocious forms of our ordinary crockery and potter's ware forty years since, when the shapes were as vilely deformed as that of the pipkin which cost Robinson Crusoe so much trouble; and observe the difference since the classical outlines of the Etruscan vases have been adopted as models for our Staffordshire ware. Every form before was detestable, whatever pains might have been bestowed in the ornamenting and finishing: whereas, since the models introduced by Messrs Wedgwood, the most ordinary earthenware is rendered pleasing to the eye, however coarse its substance, and mean the purpose for which it is designed. It is thus with good taste in every department. It cannot be established by canons and *dicta*, but must be left to force its way gradually through example. A certain number of real landscapes, executed by men adequate to set the example of a new school, which shall reject the tame and pedantic rules of

Kent and Browne, without affecting the grotesque or fantastic—who shall bring back more ornament into the garden, and introduce a bolder, wider, and more natural character into the park, will have the effect of awakening a general spirit of emulation. There are thousands of proprietors who have neither scenes capable of exhibiting the perfection of the art, nor revenues necessary to reimburse the most perfect of the artists, but who may catch the principle on which improvers ought to proceed, and render a place pretty though it cannot be grand, or comfortable though it cannot aspire to beauty.

We are called at present from the general subject, to which, at some future period, we may, perhaps, return, by the duty of noticing a discovery, as it may be called, of one of the most powerful and speedy means of effecting a general and most interesting change in the face of nature, for the purpose of ornamenting the vicinity of a gentleman's residence.

The three materials with which the rural designer must go to work—the colours, in other words, of which his landscape must be composed, are earth, water, and trees. Little change can be attempted, by means of digging away, or heaping together earth: the levelling of rising grounds, or the raising artificial hillocks, only serves to show that man has attempted what is beyond his powers. Water is more manageable, and there are places where artificial lakes and rivers have been formed with considerable effect. Of this our author, Sir Henry Steuart, has given a very pleasing instance in his

own park. But, to speak generally, this alteration requires very considerable advantages in the previous situation of the ground, and has only been splendidly successful, where Nature herself had formerly designed a lake, though the water had escaped from its bed by the gradual lowering or sudden bursting of the banks at the lower end. These being replaced by a dam-head, the lake will be restored to its bed, and man will only have brought back the state of the landscape to that which nature originally presented. But, we doubt if even the ingenious process recommended by Sir U. Price would satisfy his own just and correct taste, when carried into execution; and we are, at any rate, confident that it is only in rare instances, and at considerable expense, that artificial water can be formed with the desired effect.

Trees, therefore, remain the proper and most manageable material of picturesque improvement; and as trees and bushes can be raised almost any where—as by their presence they not only delight the eye, with their various forms and colours, but benefit the soil by their falling leaves, and improve the climate by their shelter, there is scarcely any property fitted for human habitation so utterly hopeless, as not to be rendered agreeable by extensive and judicious plantations. But, to obtain the immediate command of wood, mature enough to serve as shade, shelter, and ornament, has been hitherto denied to the improver. He has been compelled to form his plan while his plants are pigmies; to await their slow progress towards

maturity; and to bequeath as a legacy to his successors and descendants the pleasure of witnessing the full accomplishment of his hopes and wishes. He also frequently bequeaths his land to the care of careless or ignorant successors, who, from want of taste or skill, leave his purposes unfulfilled.

Repton, indeed, has justly urged, in favour of the plans of Kent and Browne, that the formal belts and clumps which they planted were intended only to encourage the rise of the young plantations, which were afterwards to be thinned out into varied and picturesque forms, but which have, in many instances, been left in the same crowded condition and formal disposition which they exhibited at their being first planted. If the school of Kent and Browne were liable to be thus baffled by the negligence of those to whom the joint execution of their plans was necessarily intrusted, a much greater failure may be expected during the subsequent generation, from the neglect of plans which affect to be laid out on the principles of Price. We have already stated, that it is to be apprehended that a taste for the fantastic will supersede that which the last age have entertained in favour of the formal. We have seen various efforts, by artists of different degrees of taste and eminence, to form plantations which are designed at some future day to represent the wild outline and picturesque glades of a natural wood. When the line of these is dictated by the character of the ground, such attempts are extremely pleasing and tasteful. But when a bizarre and extravagant irregularity

of outline is introduced upon a plain or rising ground, when its whole involutions resemble the irregular flourishes of Corporal Trim's harangue, and when we are told that this is designed to be one day a picturesque plantation, we are tempted to recollect the common tale of the German baron, who endeavoured to imitate the liveliness of Parisian society, by jumping over stools, tables, and chairs, in his own apartment, and when the other inhabitants of the hotel came to enquire the cause of the disturbance, answered them with the explanation, *Sh'apprends d'estre fif.* If the visiter applies to know the meaning of the angles and contortions introduced into the lines of the proposed plantations, in Petruchio's language—

> "What! up and down, carv'd like an apple tart;
> Here's snip, and nip, and cut, and slish, and slash,
> Like to a censer in a barber's shop"——

he receives the plausible reply, that what he now sees is not the final result of the designer's art, but that all this fantastic zig-zaggery, which resembles the traces left by a dog scampering through snow, is but a set of preparations for introducing at a future period, as the trees shall come to maturity, those groups and glades, that advancing and retiring of the woodland scene, which will realize the effects demanded by lovers of the picturesque. At present we are told, that the scene resembles a lady's tresses in *papillotes*, as they are called, and in training for the conquests which they are to make when combed into becoming ringlets. But,

alas! art is in this department peculiarly tedious, and life, as in all cases, precarious and short. How many of these *papillotes* will never be removed at all, and remain unthinned-out, like the clumps and belts of Browne's school, disfiguring the scenes they were designed to adorn.

This has been hitherto the main obstruction to the art of laying out ground, that no artist could hope to see the perfection of his own labours; nay, the pleasure of superintending their progress till the effect begins to appear, is granted but to those who live long, or who commence their improvements early in life. The ambition of man has not remained passively quiescent under this restriction of his powers, and since the days of Sultan Adhim in the Tales of the Genii, down to the present time, various efforts have been made by different means, and under various circumstances, to transfer trees in a considerable state of maturity to the park or pleasure-ground, and apply them to the composition or improvement of real landscapes. The modes essayed may probably have been successful, in some instances, where the operation has been peculiarly favoured by circumstances; but, in general, the result has been fruitless expense and disappointment. The practice has been, therefore, latterly considered as, in a great measure, empirical, so slight were the chances of success. Millar dissuades his readers from the attempt; and Mr Pontey judiciously considers the mutilated and decaying trees on which the experiment had been made, rather as a deformity than a beauty to the land-

scape. It was even denied that any real advance was gained by transplanting a tree of ten years old, and it was averred (and truly, according to the ordinary practice) that a plant from the nursery, placed beside it, would, in the course of a few years, form by far the finer tree of the two.

Nevertheless, the obstacles which have been so long considered as insuperable, have given way, in our own time, before the courage, patience, and skill of an individual, who has been enabled, with a success which appears almost marvellous, to cover a whole park at once with groups and single trees, combined with copse and underwood of various sizes, all disposed with exquisite taste. This accomplished person, Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, is known to the literary world by an elaborate translation of Sallust, accompanied with a body of notes intimating an uncommon degree of general knowledge and classical learning. Independent in circumstances, and attached by taste and habits to rural pursuits, and especially those of which we have been treating, Sir Henry has resided chiefly at the seat of his ancestors, to which, little distinguished by nature, his wonderful exertions have given, within a comparatively short period of time, all that could, according to the usual mode of improvement, have been conferred in the course of forty tedious years.

Allanton, an ancient possession of this branch of the house of Steuart, had not originally much to recommend it to the owner, except its recollections. Situated in the county of Lanark, it is removed

from the vale of the Clyde, which presents such beautiful scenery to the eye of the traveller. The soil is moorish, and the view from the front of the house must, before it was clothed with wood, have consisted in irregular swells and slopes, presenting certainly no striking features either of grandeur or beauty,—probably "just not ugly." But fortune, that consigned a man of taste and observation to a spot which was not peculiarly favourable to his pursuits, gave him the power of indemnifying himself, by compelling nature to impart to his domain no inconsiderable portion of those silvan beauties with which she has spontaneously invested more favourite scenes; and we certainly cannot hesitate to avow our opinion, that the park of Allanton, as it now appears, its history being duly considered, is as well worthy of a pilgrimage as any of the established lions of "the North Countrie."

We cannot be surprised, nor ought Sir Henry Steuart to be offended, if the wonder excited by so great a triumph of art over nature, in a process which has been thought and found so extremely difficult, should be, on the first view, mingled with some incredulity. It is natural for the reader to suspect, that the zeal of the theorist may, in some degree, have imposed on the improver, and that he communicates to the public observations which he himself has made under a species of self-deception, and which are, perhaps, a little exaggerated in his account of their results. But Allanton has been visited by many intelligent judges, disposed to enquire with sufficient minuteness into the reality of

the changes which have been effected there; and so far as we have had an opportunity of knowing, the uniform testimony of those visitors corresponds with the account given by Sir Henry Steuart himself.

A committee of gentlemen,[1] deputed by the Scottish Highland Society, supposed to be well acquainted with country matters, and particularly with the management of plantations, visited the place in September, 1823. Their report embraces three principal objects of enquiry: 1st, The single trees and open groups on the lawn, which have suffered the operation of transplanting. Of this description, birch, ash, wyche, or Scotch elm, sycamore, lime, horse-chestnut, all of which having been, at one time or other, subjects of transplantation, were growing with vigour and luxuriance, and in the most exposed situations, making shoots of eighteen inches. The trees were of various sizes. Several, which had been transplanted some years since, were from thirty to forty feet high, or more. The girth of the largest was from five feet three to five feet eight inches, at a foot and a half from the ground. Other trees, which had been only six months transplanted, were from twenty to thirty feet high; and the gentlemen of the committee ascertained their girth to be about two feet and a half, or three feet, at eighteen inches from the

[1] The Lord Belhaven, Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth, Bart., Sir Walter Scott of Abbotsford, Bart., George Cranstoun, Esq., now Lord Corehouse, Alexander Young, Esq., of Harburn

ground. These trees were in every respect flourishing, but their leaves were perceptibly smaller than those of the trees around them, a difference which ceases to exist in the second, or at furthest the third, year after transplantation. Upon the whole, the committee were satisfied, first, with the singularly beautiful shape and symmetry of the trees; secondly, with their health and vigour, as they showed no decayed boughs or twigs, the usual consequence of transplantation under other systems; thirdly, with their upright and even position, though set out singly and in exposed situations without any adventitious support. Thus the single trees possessed all the advantages which the proprietor could desire in the qualities of beauty, health, and stability.

The second branch of the committee's enquiry related to enclosed groups, or masses of wood planted close together. There are several of these in the park, which correspond and occasionally contrast pleasingly with the open groups and single trees already observed. The committee particularly describe one of these close masses, intended as a screen to the approach. It had been clothed with wood in the course of one season by means of the transplanting system, trees from twenty to thirty feet high being first planted as standard or grove-wood, about twenty feet apart, and the intervals filled up with bushes or stools of copse or underwood. The standard trees being in this mass sheltered by each other, made larger shoots than those which stood singly, and the underwood of oak,

birch, holly, mountain-ash, horse chestnut, common and Canadian birdcherry, and other species usually found in a natural wood, were making luxuriant progress in their new situation. And though it was but five years since this copse, interspersed with standard trees, had been formed by Sir Henry, his visitors assigned no less a space than from thirty to forty years as the probable time in which such a screen could have been formed by ordinary means. From the facts which they witnessed, the committee reported it as their unanimous opinion, that the *art of transplantation, as practised by Sir Henry Steuart, is calculated to accelerate, in an extraordinary degree, the power of raising wood, whether for beauty or shelter.* They added, that of all the trees they had examined, one alone seemed to have failed; and that, being particularly intent on this point of enquiry, they had looked closely for symptoms of any dead tree having been removed, without being able to discover any such, although the traces of such a process could not have escaped their notice had they existed.

The existence of the wonders—so we may call them—which Sir Henry Steuart has effected, being thus supported by the unexceptionable evidence of competent judges, what lover of natural beauty can fail to be interested in his own detailed account of the mode by which he has been able to make wings for time, and anticipate the operation of years, so as altogether to overthrow the authority of the old saying:—

"Heu! male transfertur senio cum induruit arbor?"

It is the object of the present publication to give in full detail the measures employed by the author to anticipate in such a wonderful manner the march of time, and to force, as it were, his woodlands in somewhat the same manner as the domestic gardener forces his fruits; and the information which the work affords is as full and explicit concerning the theory upon which our author has proceeded as upon the practical points necessary to carry that theory into effect. Sir Henry Steuart's method of transplantation is (as might have been expected from a scholar and philosopher) founded upon the strictest attention to vegetable physiology, as ascertained by consulting the best authors; and the rationale which he assigns as the cause of his success is not less deserving of strict attention, than the practical results which he has exhibited.

Sir Henry Steuart's first general proposition on the subject of transplantation will be conceded to him at once, although, in practice, we have known it most grossly neglected. It amounts simply to the averment, that success cannot be expected unless upon principles of selection, determining the subject to be transplanted with relation to the soil that it is to be transferred to. All will grant in theory that every plant has its soil and subsoil, to which it is particularly adapted, and where it will luxuriate; whereas in others it can scarce make shift to exist; yet the planter or the transplanter, nine times in ten, neglects this necessity of suiting his trees to the soil, and is at the expense of placing the trees which chance to be his favourites indis-

criminately upon every soil. Sir H. Steuart has largely and conclusively illustrated this matter; and henceforth it may be held as a positive rule, that there can be little hope of a transplanted tree thriving unless it be removed to a soil congenial to its nature, and that it will become every planter to bestow the same care in selecting the *species* of his trees that a farmer fails not to use in adapting his crops to the soil of his farm. But there is a second principle of selection, no less necessary to be attended to, and which respects *the condition and properties of the individual trees* suited for transplantation. This requires to be considered more in detail.

It is familiar to all acquainted with plantations (although the honour belongs exclusively to Sir Henry Steuart of having deduced the natural consequences), that the constant and uninterrupted action of the external air on a tree which stands completely exposed to it, gives that tree a habit, character, and properties entirely different, and, in many respects, directly opposite to those acquired by one of the same species which has grown in absolute shelter, whose energies have exerted themselves in a different manner and for a different purpose, and have, therefore, made a most material difference in the attributes and constitution of the plant.

We must suppose that our reader has some general acquaintance with the circulation of the sap in trees, being the substance by which they are nourished, and resembling, in that respect, the chyle in the human system. This nutritive substance is

collected by the roots with those fibres which form their terminations, and which, with a degree of address which seems almost sentient, travel in every direction, and with unerring skill, to seek those substances in the soil best qualified to supply the nourishment which it is their business to convey. The juice, or sap, thus extracted from the soil, is drawn up the tree by the efforts of vegetation, each branch and each leaf serving, by its demand for nourishment, as a kind of forcing-pump, to suck the juice up to the topmost shoot, to extend it to all the branches, and, in a healthy tree, to the extremity of each shoot. The roots, in other words, are the providers of the aliment; the branches, shoots, and leaves, are the appetite of the tree, which induce it to consume the food thus supplied to it. The analogy holds good betwixt the vegetable and animal world. If the roots of a tree are injured, or do not receive the necessary supplies of nourishment, the tree must perish, like an animal unsupplied with food, whatever be the power of the appetite in one case, and of the vegetation in the other, to consume the nutritive substance, if it could be procured. This is dying by hunger. If, on the other hand, the powers of vegetation are in any respect injured, and the tree, either from natural decline, from severe amputation, or from any other cause, ceases to supply those shoots and leaves which suck the sap up into the system, then the tree dies of a decay in the powers of digestion.

But the tree, like the animal, is not nourished by

food alone; air is also necessary to it. If this be supplied in such extreme quantities as is usual in exposed situations, the trees will suffer from the action of the cold, like a man in an inclement climate, where he is, indeed, furnished with enough of pure air, but where the cold that attends it deranges his organic system. In like manner, when placed in a situation where air is excluded, both the vegetable and the animal are reduced to a state of suffocation equally fatal to their health, and, at a certain period, to their existence. Both productions of nature have, however, their resources;—the animal, exposed to a painful and injurious degree of cold, seeks shelter; man, however often condemned to face the extremity of cold, supplies his want of warmth by artificial clothing; and the inferior animals in the polar latitudes, on the Himalaya mountains, and so forth, are furnished by nature with an additional thickness of furs, which would be useless in warmer regions.[1] Trees placed in an exposed situation have also their resources;—the object being to protect the sap-vessels, which transmit nutriment, and which lie betwixt the wood and the bark, the tree never fails to throw out, and especially on the side most exposed to the blast, a thick coating of bark, designed to protect, and which effectually does protect, the sap vessels and the process of circulation to which they are adapted, from the injury which necessarily must otherwise ensue. Again, if the animal is in danger of

[1] The reader is referred to Bishop Heber's travels in India for some most interesting details on this subject.

suffocation from want of vital air, instead of starving by being exposed to its unqualified rigour, instinct or reason directs the sufferer to approach those apertures through which any supply of that necessary of human life can be attained, and induces man, at the same time, to free himself from any coverings which may be rendered oppressive by the state in which he finds himself. Now it may be easily proved, that a similar instinct to that which induced the unfortunate sufferers in the black-hole of Calcutta to struggle with the last efforts to approach the solitary aperture which admitted air to their dungeon, and to throw from them their garments, in order to encourage the exertions which nature made to relieve herself by perspiration, is proper, also, to the noblest of the vegetable tribe. Look at a wood or plantation which has not been duly thinned:—the trees which exist will be seen drawn up to poles, with narrow and scanty tops, endeavouring to make their way towards such openings to the sky as might permit the access of light and air. If entirely precluded by the boughs which have closed over them, the weaker plants will be found strangely distorted by attempts to get out at a side of the plantation; and, finally, if overpowered in these attempts by the obstacles opposed to them, they inevitably perish. As men throw aside their garments, influenced by a close situation, trees placed in similar circumstances, exhibit a bark thin and beautifully green and succulent, entirely divested of that thick, coarse, protecting substance which covers the sap-vessels in an exposed position.

Another equally curious difference betwixt trees which have stood in exposed situations and those which have grown in such as are sheltered, is also so reasonable in appearance as to seem the act of volition, so curiously do the endeavours of nature in the vegetable world correspond with the instinct of animals and the reason of mankind. Man and beast make use of the position of their limbs to steady themselves against the storm, although as their exposure to it is only temporary, the exertion bears the same character: but trees, incapable of locomotion, assume, when placed in an exposed situation, a permanent set of self-protecting qualities, and become extremely different in the disposition of the trunk, roots, and branches, from those of the same species which remain in the shelter of crowded plantations. The stem of trees in an exposed situation is always short and thick, because, being surrounded by air and light all around, the tree has not the motive to *rush* up towards the free air which is so strongly perceptible in close woods. For the same reason, its branches are thrown widely out in every direction, as if to balance itself against the storm, and to obtain, from the disposition of its parts, a power of resistance which may supply the place of the shelter enjoyed by plants more favourably situated. The roots of such trees, which are always correlative to the branches, are augmented in proportion as necessity obliges the former to extend themselves.

There is a singular and beautiful process of action and reaction which takes place betwixt the

progress of the roots and of the branches. The former must, by their vigour and numbers, stretch out under ground before the branches can develope themselves in the air; and, on the other hand, it is necessary that the branches so develope themselves, to give employment to the roots, in collecting food. There is a system of close commerce between them; if either fail in discharging their part, the other must suffer in proportion. The increase of the branches, therefore, in exposed trees, is and must be in proportion with that of the roots, and *vice versa;* and as the exposed tree spreads its branches on every side to balance itself against the wind, as it shortens its stem or trunk, to afford the mechanical force of the tempest a shorter lever to act upon, so numerous and strong roots spread themselves under ground, by way of anchorage, to an extent and in a manner unknown to sheltered trees.

These facts afford the principles on which our author selects the subjects of his operations. It may seem a simple proposition, that to succeed in the removal of a large tree to an open situation, the operator ought to choose one which, having grown up in a similar degree of exposure, has provided itself with those qualities which are peculiarly fitted for it. Every one will be ready to acknowledge its truth at the first statement; but Sir Henry has been the first to act upon it; and, having ascertained its accuracy, to communicate it to the world. It is Columbus making the egg stand upright.

Our author has enumerated four properties which nature has taught trees that stand unsheltered to acquire by their own efforts, in order to suit themselves for their situation. *First*, thickness and induration of bark; *secondly*, shortness and girth of stem; *thirdly*, numerousness of roots and fibres; and *fourthly*, extent, balance, and closeness of branches. These, Sir Henry has denominated the four protecting qualities; and he has proved, by a very plain and practical system of reasoning, founded upon an intimate acquaintance with the most distinguished writers on vegetable physiology, that in proportion as the subject for transplantation is possessed of these four qualities, in the same degree it is fitted to encounter exposure as a single tree in its new position.

The characteristics of the trees which have grown in sheltered and warm situations are precisely the opposite of these; their bark is thin, glossy, and fresh-looking, without any of the rough, indurated substance necessary to protect the sap-vessels when exposed to the extremity of cold; the stem is tall, and slender, as drawn upwards in quest of light; the tops are small and thinly provided with branches, because they have not had the necessary room to expand themselves; and, lastly, the roots are spare and scanty. Sir Henry Steuart says, that a tree, in the situation, and bearing the character last described, is possessed of the "non-protecting properties." A great coat, and a pair of overalls or mud-boots, may be called, with propriety, the protecting pro-

perties of a man who mounts his steed in rough weather; but he who sits at home, in a night-gown and slippers, can hardly be said to possess any non-protective qualities, or any thing, except a negation of the habiliments which invest his out-of-doors friend. We will not, however, disturb the subject by cavilling about expressions; it is enough that the reader understands that the presence of the "non-protecting qualities" implies the total absence of those which render trees fit to endure the process of transplantation.

Yet, though this principle of selection be, when once stated, so very satisfactory, it is no less certain, that no preceding author had so much as glanced at it; and that convenience, the usual, though by no means the safe guide of planting operations, has pointed out an entirely different course. Young woods, being usually planted far too thickly with hardwood,—or, in other words, the principals being in too great a proportion to the firs intended as nurses,—are found, after the lapse of twelve or fourteen years, to be crowded with tall, shapely plants, which have not room to grow, and are obviously damaging each other. The consequence of this is, that the proprietor, unwilling to lose so many thriving plants, is very often tempted, by the healthiness of their appearance, to select them as subjects for transplantation. Their graceful and lengthened stems, and smooth and beautiful bark, seem to be marks of health (as, indeed, they are, while they remain in the shelter for which they are qualified), and the thinness of

their heads will, it is supposed, prevent their suffering much by the wind. But almost all such attempts prove abortive. The tree comes, indeed, into leaf, for one year, as some trees (the ash particularly) will do, if cut down and carried to the woodyard. But the next year the transplanted tree displays symptoms of decay. The leaves do not appear in strength and numbers enough to carry the sap to the ends of the branches; the stem becomes covered with a number of small sprays, which at once indicate that the sap has been arrested in its progress, and that the tree is making a desperate, we had almost said an unnatural, effort to avail itself of the nutriment in the stem, which it cannot transfer to the branches; the bark becomes dry, hide-bound, and mossed; the projecting branches wither down to the stem and must be cut off; and, after all, the young tree either dies utterly, or dwindles into a bush, which, perhaps, may recover elevation, and the power of vegetation, after a pause of ten or twelve years, but more likely is stubbed up as a melancholy and disagreeable object. This grand and leading error is avoided in the Allanton system, by the selection, from the beginning, of such trees as, having grown in an exposed situation, are provided with the protecting properties, and can, therefore, experience no rude change of atmosphere or habits by the change of place to which they are subjected.

But it may be asked, where is the planter to find such trees as are proper for being transplanted? Our author replies, that there are few properties,

however small in extent, or unimproved by plantations, which do not possess some subjects endowed, perfectly or nearly so, with the protecting qualities. The open groves, and scattered trees around old cottages, or in old hedge-rows—where not raised upon an embankment, which gives the roots a determination downwards—are invaluable to the transplanter. They are already inured to the climate, and furnished with a quantity of branches and roots,—they possess the limited length and solidity of stem and the quality of bark necessary to enable them to endure exposure,—in other words, they are fit for being immediately transplanted. In most cases, however, the trees may have but partially gained the protecting qualities, and where such subjects occur, they must, by training, be made to complete the acquisition of them. The process to which they are subjected is various, according to the special protecting quality in which the tree is deficient. In general, and especially where the *bark* appears of too fine and thin a texture to protect the sap-vessels, a gradual, and, in the end, a free exposure to the elements, induces the trees selected fully to assume the properties which enable them to dispense with shelter. If, on the other hand, the bark is of a hardy quality, and the branches in sufficient number, but the *roots* scanty and deficient—the tree ought to be cut round with a trench, of thirty inches deep, leaving only two or three strong roots uncut, to act as stays against the wind. The earth is then returned into the trench, and when taken

up at the end of two or three years, with the purpose of final removal, it will be found that the roots have formed, at the points where they were severed, numbers of tassels (so to speak) composed of slender fibres, which must be taken the greatest care of at the time of removal, and will be found completely to supply the original deficiency of roots. Again, if the *branches* of the subject pitched upon be in an unfavourable state, this evil may be counteracted by a top-dressing of marl and compost, mixed with four times the quantity of tolerable soil, spread around the stem of the tree, at four feet distance. This mode Sir Henry Steuart recommends as superior to that of disturbing the roots, as practised in gardens for the same purpose of encouraging the growth of fruit-trees; and assures us, that the increase, both of the branches and roots, will be much forwarded, and that the tree will be fit for removal in the third year.

These modes of preparing individual trees are attended with some expense and difficulty; but here again the experience of Sir Henry Steuart suggests a plan, by which any proprietor, desirous to carry on the process upon a considerable scale, may, by preparing a number of subjects at once, greatly accelerate the time of commencing his operations, at an expense considerably less than would attach to the preparation of each tree separately. The grounds of Allanton had been, about forty years ago, ornamented with a belt and clumps, by a pupil of Browne. Sir Henry found in both, but especially in the clumps, the means of obtaining

subjects in sufficient number and quantity for his own purposes. The ground where these were set had been prepared by trenching and taking a potato-crop.

"About the twelfth or fifteenth year, I began to cut away the larch and spruce-firs. These had been introduced merely as nurses to the deciduous trees; and, from the warmth and shelter they had afforded, and the previous double-digging, the whole had rushed up with singular rapidity. The next thing I did was, to thin out the trees to single distance, so as that the tops could not touch one another, and to cut away the side-branches, within about three, or three and a half feet of the surface. By this treatment, it will be perceived, that a considerable deal of air was admitted into the plantations. The light, which before had had access only at the top, was now equally diffused on all sides; and the trees, although for a few years they advanced but little in height, made surprising efforts towards a full developement of their most important properties. They acquired greater strength of stem, thickness of bark, and extension of roots, and consequently of lateral branches. But, at this time, it was apparent, that the clumps had a remarkable advantage over the belt or continuous plantation. While in no part so deep as to impede the salutary action of the atmosphere, the circular or oval figure of the clumps, and their free exposure to the elements, furnished them with a far greater proportion of good outside trees; and these, having acquired, from the beginning, a considerable share of the protecting properties, were in a situation to shelter the rest, and also to prevent the violence of the wind from acting injuriously on the interior of the mass. It therefore became necessary to thin the belt for the second time, which was now done to double distance; that is to say, to a distance such as would have admitted of a similar number of trees in every part, to stand between the existing plants. Thus, within four years from the first thinning, I began to have tolerable subjects for removal, to situations of moderate exposure; while every succeeding season added fresh beauty and vigour to these thriving nurseries, and made a visible accession to all the desirable pre-requisites."—Pp. 203–205.

The author proceeds, with his usual precision, to give directions how each country-gentleman, that

is so minded, may, by a peculiar treatment adapted to accelerate the acquisition of the protecting properties applied to a portion of any existing plantation, secure a grand repository of materials high and low, light and massive, from which his future plans of transplantation may be fully supplied. Indeed, he adds, that all grove woods, which have been regularly and properly thinned, and so treated that the tops have not been suffered to interfere, may be esteemed good transplanting nurseries, provided the soil be loose and friable.

Thus much being said about the principle of selection, the reader will naturally desire to know, what size of trees can be subjected to the process of transplantation. According to Sir Henry's general statement, this is a mere question of expense. A large tree may be removed with the same certainty of success as a lesser one; but it requires engines of greater power, a more numerous band of labourers, and the expense is found to increase in a rapidly progressive ratio. We presume to add, although our author has not explicitly stated it, that to sustain this violent alteration, trees ought to be selected that have not arrived at maturity, far less at the point from which they decline; and this, in order that the subject of transplantation may be possessed of all the energy and force of vegetation belonging to the period of youth. In the practice at Allanton, a tree of six or eight inches in diameter, or two feet in girth, is the least size which is considered as fit to encounter the elements; if planted out singly,

eighteen inches and two feet in diameter are among the largest specimens, and plants of about a foot in diameter may be considered as a medium size, being both manageable and of size enough to produce immediate effect upon the landscape, and to oppose resistance to the storm.

We are next to trace the Allantonian process of removing and replanting the tree.

The tree is loosened in the ground by a set of labourers, named pickmen, who, with instruments made for the purpose, first ascertain with accuracy how far the roots of the subject extend. This is easily known when the subject has been cut round, as the trench marks the line where the roots have been amputated. If the tree has not sustained this previous operation, the extent of the roots will be found to correspond with that of the branches. The *pickers* then proceed to bare the roots from the earth with the utmost attention not to injure them in the operation. It is to the preservation of these fibres that the transplanter is to owe the best token of his success, namely, the feeding the branches of the tree with sap even to their very extremities. The roots are then extricated from the soil. A mass of earth is left to form a ball close to the stem itself, and it is recommended to suffer two or three feet of the original sward to adhere to it. The machine is next brought up to the stem of the tree with great caution. This is the engine devised by Browne, and considerably improved by Sir Henry Steuart. It is of three sizes, that being used which is best adapted to the size of the tree,

and is drawn by one, or, at most, two horses. It consists of a strong pole, mounted upon two high wheels. It is run up to the tree, and the pole, strongly secured to the tree while both are in a perpendicular posture, is brought down to a horizontal position, and in descending in obedience to the purchase operates as a lever, which, aided by the exertions of the pickmen, rends the tree out of the soil. The tree is so laid on the machine, as to balance the roots against the branches, and it is wonderful how slight an effort is necessary to pull the engine when this equilibrium is preserved. To keep the balance just, one man, or two, are placed aloft among the branches of the tree, where they shift their places, like a sort of moveable ballast, until the just distribution of weight is ascertained. The roots, as well as the branches, are tied up during the transportation of the tree, it being of the last consequence that neither should be torn or defaced by dragging on the ground or interfering with the wheels. The mass, when put in motion, is manœuvred something like a piece of artillery, by a steersman at the further end. It requires a certain nicety of steerage, and the whole process has its risks, as may appear from a very good story told by Sir Henry, at page 232.

The pit for receiving the transplanted tree, which ought to have been prepared at least a twelvemonth before, is now opened for its reception, the earth being thrown out for such a depth as will suit its size; with this caution, that the tree be set in the earth as shallow as possible, but always so as to

allow room for the dipping of the vertical roots on the one hand, and sufficient cover at top on the other. This is preferred, even though it should be found necessary to add a cart-load or two of earth to the mound afterwards.

It is well known that in all stormy and uncertain climates every species of tree shows what is called a weather side, that is, its branches shoot more freely to that side which is leeward during the prevailing wind, than in the opposite direction. Hence the trees, in a windy climate, excepting, perhaps, the sycamore, are but indifferently balanced, and seem, from their growth, to be in the act of suffering a constraint which they cannot resist. Now an ancient rule which is echoed and repeated by almost all who touch on the subject, affirms that a transplanted tree must be so placed in its new site, that the same side shall be weather and lee which formerly were so. Sir Henry Steuart, in direct opposition to this rule, recommends strongly that the position of the tree be reversed, so that the lee side, where the branches are elongated, shall be pointed towards the prevailing wind, and what was formerly the weather-side, being now turned to leeward, shall be encouraged, by its new position, to shoot out in such a manner as to restore the balance and symmetry of the top. This change is, indeed, in theory a departure from Sir Henry Steuart's general principle, because it exposes to the greatest severity of the element that side of the tree whose bark has been least accustomed to face it. But, nevertheless, as the practice is found

successful, it must rank among those powers of control by which human art can modify and regulate the dispensations of nature, and the beauty given to the tree, which is thus brought to form an upright and uniform, instead of an irregular and sidelong head, is not less important than the shelter and power of resistance which it acquires on mechanical principles, by turning its heaviest and strongest branches against the most frequent and severe blast. Sir Henry claims the merit of being the first planter who ever dared to rectify the propensity of trees to shoot their branches to leeward by moving the position; and as, in his extensive experience, he has never found his doing so injure the tree, or impede its growth, we must thank him for breaking through the prejudice in question.

A second and most important deviation from the common course of transportation is, the total disuse of the barbarous practice of pollarding or otherwise mutilating and dismembering the trees which are to be transplanted. This almost universal custom, which subjected the tree, at the very moment when it was to sustain its change of place, to the amputation of one-third, one-half, or even the whole of its top, seems to be founded on a process of false reasoning. "We cut off the roots," say these reasoners, "and thereby diminish the power of procuring supply for the branches; let us also cut off a similar proportion of the branches which are to be supplied, and the remaining roots will be adequate to support the remainder of the top." In this argument, it is

assumed that the branches are themselves of no use to the process of vegetation, and can be abridged with as much ease as the commandant of a besieged town, when provisions grow scarce, can rid himself of the superfluous part of his garrison. But it is not so; we cannot deprive the tree of a healthy branch, without, to a certain extent, deranging the economy of vegetation: each leaf, in its degree, forms a forcing-pump, which draws up a certain quantity of sap, the natural food of the tree; and, moreover, it forms a portion of the lungs of the tree, as the leaves inhale a certain quantity of air, an operation which may be compared to respiration. To destroy the branches, therefore, further than for the moderate purpose of pruning, is to attempt to fit the tree to rest satisfied with an inferior supply of nourishment, by depriving it of a part of its appetite and a part of its power of inhaling the air, which is no less necessary to its healthful existence. The case comes to be the same with that of a worthy chaplain, who, with the crew of a vessel he belonged to, was thrown by shipwreck on a desolate rock, where there were no means of food. His shipmates suffered grievously, "But for my part," says the chaplain, "I bless heaven that I was in a burning fever the whole time, and desired nothing but cold water, of which there was plenty on the island." Now though the good man seems to have been grateful even for his burning fever (having, it must be observed, safely recovered from it), it will generally be thought rather too

hazardous a remedy to be desired by others in similar situations, and those who treat their trees on the same principle ought to remember, that to cure one injury they are exposing their subjects to two.

The sagacious Miller long ago noticed these facts, and ascribed this fashion of thinning and pollarding to the ignorance of planters, who, not being aware of the principles of vegetation, did not know that trees were nourished as well by their leaves, sprays, and branches, as by their roots :—

"For (says that judicious writer) were the same severities practised on a tree of the same age *unremoved*, it would so much stint the growth, as not to be recovered in several years; nor would it ever arrive at the size of such as had all their branches left upon them." [1]

But were this species of mutilation less directly injurious to vegetation than it certainly is, we ought to remember that the purpose of transplanting trees is chiefly or entirely ornamental; and if we render them, by decapitation and dismemberment of every kind, disgusting and miserable spectres, we destroy the whole purpose and intention for which they were transplanted, and present the eye with a set of naked and mutilated posts and poles, resembling the unhealthy and maimed tenants of a military hospital, after a great battle, instead of the beautiful objects which it was the purpose of the improver to procure by anticipating

[1] Miller's Gardener's and Botanist's Dictionary, voc. "Planting."

the course of nature. It is true, good soil, and a tract of years, may restore such ill-used subjects to form and beauty, but, considering the length of time that they must remain disgusting and unsightly, we would far rather trust to such plants as nature might rear on the spot—plants which would come to maturity as soon, and prove incomparably more thriving in their growth, and more beautiful in their form. But the Allanton system, by planting the subjects without mutilation, boasts to obtain the immediate effect of trees complete and perfect in all their parts, without loss of the time required to replace the havoc of axe and saw.

There is a third material point in which Sir Henry Steuart's system differs from general practice, not, indeed, absolutely, but in degree. The only absolute requisite which the old school of transplantation enjoined, was that the tree should be taken up with as large a ball of earth as could possibly be managed. In obeying this direction, there was considerable expense incurred by the additional weight, not to mention that the transplanter was often disappointed by the ball falling to pieces by the way. In short, the difficulty was so great, that the operation was often performed in severe weather, to secure the adhesion of the earth to the roots, at the risk of exposing the extremities of the fibres and rootlets to the highly unfavourable agency of frost. The Allanton system limits the earth, which is, if possible, to be retained, to that lying immediately under the stem of the tree, where a ball of moderate extent is to be preserved:

the roots extending from it are, as already explained, entirely denuded of earth by the pickmen, in their process of loosening the tree from the soil. When the tree is borne by the machine up to the spot where it is to be finally placed, it is carefully brought to a perpendicular posture by means of elevating the pole of the machine, and the centre of the stem is received, with the ball of earth adhering to it, into a cavity in the middle of the pit, so shallow, however, that the trunk of the tree stands rather high, and the roots have a tendency downwards. The roots are then freed from the tyings which have bound them up for temporary preservation, and are divided into the tiers or ranks in which they diverge from the trunk. The lowest of these tiers is next arranged, as nearly as possible in the manner in which it lay originally, each root, with its rootlets and fibres, being laid down and imbedded in the earth with the utmost precaution. They must be handled as a lover would dally with the curls of Neæra's hair, for tearing, crushing, or turning back these important fibres, is in the highest degree prejudicial to the growth of the tree. The earth is then laid over this the lowest tier of roots with much precaution; it is carefully worked in by the hand, and the aid of a sort of small rammer, with such attention to the safety of the fibres, as to encourage them immediately to resume their functions, as if they had never been disquieted. Additional earth is then gradually sifted in, and kneaded down, till it forms a layer on which the second tier of roots is extended; and these are put

in order, and disposed of in the same way as the lower tier. The same process of handling and arranging the roots then takes place with the third tier, and the fourth, if there is one. This attention to incorporating with the soil each root, nay, each fibre, as far as possible, answers a double purpose. It not only induces the roots to commence their usual and needful office of collecting the sap, but also secures them against the effect of storms of wind, which, blowing on trees transplanted in the ordinary way with a ball, makes them rock like a bowl in a socket, the ball, with the roots, having no communication with the pit except by adhesion. The sense of this great evil suggested to former transplanters the necessity of stakes, ropes, and other means of adventitious support, which were always ugly, and expensive, and generally inefficient. Whereas, according to the Allanton system, the tree reversed so as to present its weightier branches against the wind, and picketed to the firm earth by a thousand roots and rootlets, carefully incorporated with the soil, is not found to require any support, is seldom swayed to a side, and almost never blown down by the heaviest gales. Here, therefore, is a third and important difference between the Allanton system and all that have preceded it, occasioned by the stability which the mode of laying the roots imparts to the tree, and the power of dispensing with every other species of support, except what arises from well-balanced boughs and roots received in the ground. We have to add, that Sir Henry's own territory lies

considerably exposed to those storms from the North, which are the heaviest and most prevailing gales of the Scottish climate.

When the soil has been placed about the roots, tier after tier, the rest of the earth is filled into the pit regularly, so that the depth around the stem shall be twelve or fourteen inches, and subjected to a gentle and uniform pressure, but by no means to severe ramming or treading in, leaving it to nature to produce that consolidation, which, if attempted by violence, is apt to injure the fine fibres of the roots. If there is turf, it is replaced around the stem in regular order. We ought not to have omitted, that the tree is subjected to a plentiful watering when the roots are fixed, and to another when the operations are completed.

From our own experience, we should consider this last requisite as of the highest consequence. Count Rumford, in his various experiments upon the food of the poor, arrived at the economical discovery, that water alone contained a great deal of nutritive aliment. Without extending our averment as far as that practical philosopher, we are much of his opinion, in so far as transplanted trees are considered; for we have seen hollies of ten and twelve feet high removed from the centre of a forest, and planted in a light and sandy soil, without any other precaution than placing them in a pit half-filled with earth, mingled with such a quantity of water that it had the consistence of thin porridge. Every forester knows the shyness of the holly, yet, set in soil thus prepared, and

refreshed by copious watering during the season, they throve admirably well. Accordingly, we observe that Sir Henry recommends watering as one of the principal points respecting the subsequent treatment of the transplanted tree. When the trees stand singly, or in loose and open disposition, he recommends that the earth around them shall be finally beat down by a machine resembling that of a pavior, but heavier, about the month of April or May, when the natural consolidation shall have, in a great measure, taken place. To exclude the drought, he then recommends that the ground immediately under the stem of the oak, birch, and other trees which demand most attention, shall be covered with a substance called *shews*, being the refuse of a flax-mill, which, of course, serves to exclude the drought, like the process which gardeners call mulching. Lastly, in the case of such transplanted trees as do not seem disposed to thrive equal to the others, we are instructed to lay around the stem four cart-loads of earth, with a cart-load of coal-ashes, carefully sifted: this composition is spread round the tree, in a proportion of nine inches in depth, around the stem or centre, and five inches at the extremity of the roots.

It is most important to observe, that the success of the whole operation seems to depend as much upon this species of treatment, which takes place after the transplantation, as on observation of the rules laid down as to preparing the tree for its removal, and as to the method of the transplanta-

tion itself. We have already mentioned the efficacy of frequent watering: the excluding drought from the roots of the transplanted tree by the intervention of *shews*, or some equivalent subject (leaves, perhaps, or a layer of wet straw), is of the last consequence; and not less so is the application of manure to the roots of such trees as seem, in the language of planters, to fail or go back. When these things are attended to, the tree seldom or never fails. It is surrounded with a very neat species of defence against the deer, sheep, or other animals with which the park may be stocked, and which is more handsome as well as less expensive than the ugly tubs in which transplanted trees seem usually to be set out in the ground which they are designed to occupy. Taking the medium degree of thriving, a tree thus transplanted may be expected to suffer in its growth of leaves for the first year or two. In the second particularly, it has less the air of general health than at any future time. In the third, if regularly attended to in its after-treatment, it shows little sign of suffering any thing. In two or three seasons more, it begins to show growth, and resume the progress of active vegetation.

We have thus gone hastily through the general requisites of the Allanton system of transplantation, for the details of which we must refer to the work itself. The merit to be assigned to the ingenious baronet is exalted by the character of his discovery, relating to such a fascinating branch of the fine arts as that of improving the actual landscape. He has taught a short road to an end which almost all

landed proprietors, possessed of the slightest degree of taste, must be desirous of attaining. In a word, the immediate effect of wood is obtained—an entire park may, as in the case of Allanton, be covered with wood of every kind: trees, arranged singly, in scattered groups, or in close masses, intermixed with copse of every description, and boasting, in the course of four or five years, all the beauty which the improver, in the ordinary case, can expect, after the lapse of thirty or forty. Even in the first year, indeed, a great general effect is produced; but as, upon close inspection, the trees will for some time show a thinness of leaves and check of vegetation, we have taken that period at which the transplanted wood may, with ordinary management, be expected to have lost all appearance of the operation which it has sustained.

It is now time to attend to a formidable consideration, the expense, namely, at which a victory over nature, so complete as that which we have described, is to be attained. Sir Henry Steuart complains, with justice, of reports, which, assigning the price of ten or twelve pounds to the removal of each tree, and circulated by envy or ignorance, have represented his system as beyond the reach of any, excepting the most opulent individuals; whereas he himself contends, that the art which he has disclosed has the opposite merit of being within the easy compass of any person of moderate fortune. As the practical utility of this ingenious system depends entirely on this point, we feel it our duty to notice the evidence on the subject.

The days of Orpheus are no more, and no man can now pretend to make the rooted denizens of the forest shift their places at the simple expense of an old song. It must be held sufficient if the expenditure does not so far exceed the object to be obtained, as to cause the alterations produced to rank with the extravagant freaks of Nero, who was the first of landscape-gardeners, and his successors in the school of gigantic embellishment. But the country-gentleman, of easy fortune, who does not hesitate to lay out two or three hundred pounds for a tolerable picture or two to adorn the inside of his house, should not surely be induced to grudge a similar expenditure to form the park, by which it is surrounded, into a natural landscape, which will more than rival the best efforts of the pencil. The power of adorning nature is a luxury of the highest kind, and must, to a certain extent, be paid for; but the following pieces of evidence serve to show, that the price is uncommonly moderate, if contrasted with the effects produced.

The committee of the Highland Society remark, that the transplantation of grown trees belongs to the fine arts rather than those which have had direct and simple utility for their object, and that the return is to be expected rather in pleasure than in actual profit:

"Value, no doubt, every proprietor acquires, when he converts a bare and unsightly common into a clothed, sheltered, and richly ornamented park. But, excepting in the article of shelter, he has no more immediate value than the purchaser of a picture."

But this apologetical introduction is so far short of

the truth, since it omits to notice that the improver *has* created a value—unproductive, indeed, while he continues to retain possession of his estate, but which can be converted into actual productive capital so soon as he chooses to part with it. The difference between Allanton, with its ornamented park, and Allanton as it was twenty years since, would soon be ascertained were the proprietor disposed to bring his ancient heritage into the market. The committee proceed to state, that the formation of the two acres of copse, intermingled with standard trees, already mentioned, appears to have amounted to L.30 per acre; and they express their belief that no visible change, to the same purpose, could have been effected by the landscape-gardener, which could have had effect before it had cost the proprietor *three times* the sum.

Mr Laing Meason, who had personally attended some operations on Allanton park, mentions the transplantation of two trees, from twenty to thirty years old. The workmen began their operations at six o'clock in the morning, The first tree was, by measurement, twenty feet; the second, thirty-two feet high, the girth from twenty-four to thirty-six inches. The one was moved a mile, the other about a hundred yards, and the whole operation was concluded before six in the evening. The wages of the men amounted to fifteen shillings, so that each tree cost seven shillings and sixpence. Adding the expense of a pair of horses, the sum could not exceed twelve shillings, and we must needs profess, that the mere pleasure of witness-

ing such a wonderful transmigration successfully accomplished, was, in our opinion, worth half the money. Mr Laing Meason proceeds to say, "that if a comparison was to be drawn between the above expense and that of planting groups of plants from the nursery, keeping enclosures up for twenty years, and losing the rent on the ground occupied, the Allanton system is much preferable on the point of economy."

The evidence of various gentlemen who have already adopted Sir Henry Steuart's system on their own estates, is given at length in the book before us:—Mr Smith, of Jordanhill, in Lanarkshire, appears to have made the largest experiments next to the inventor himself; and he states the results as uniformly successful. Before his workmen attained proficiency in the art, the individual trees cost from fifteen to eighteen shillings each, when transported about a mile; but in his later operations the charge was reduced to eight shillings for very handsome subjects, and six shillings for those of an inferior description.

Mr Mac Call, of Ibroxhill, another gentleman in the same neighbourhood, estimates the cost of his operations on trees, from eighteen to twenty-eight feet high, at eight shillings and tenpence per tree. Mr Watson of Linthouse, in Renfrewshire, reckons that his trees, being on an average thirty feet high, cost him fourteen shillings the tree. Sir Charles Macdonald Lockhart, of Lee, and Sir Walter Scott, of Abbotsford, mention their expenses as *trifling;* and Mr Elliot Lockhart (M.P. for Selkirkshire)

states ten shillings as the average cost of transplanting trees from twenty-four to thirty-five feet in height. All these gentlemen attest the success of their operations, and their thorough belief in the soundness of their ingenious master's doctrine.

It ought to be observed, that no special account seems, in any of these cases, to have been kept of the after treatment of the transplanted tree, by watering and manuring, which must differ very much, according to circumstances. Something, however, must be added on this account to almost all the prices quoted by the experimentalists above mentioned.

We now come to Sir Henry's account of his own expenses, which, with the laudable and honourable desire to be as communicative and candid as possible, he has presented under various forms. The largest trees which Sir Henry Steuart himself has been in the habit of removing

"being from twenty-five to thirty-five feet high, may be managed," he informs us, "by expert and experienced workmen, for from 10s. to 13s. each, at half a mile's distance: and the smallest, being from eighteen to five-and-twenty feet, for from 6s. to 8s. With workmen awkward or inexperienced, it will not seem surprising, that it should require a third part, or even a half more, fully to follow out the practice which has been recommended. As to wood for close plantations, or for bush-planting in the park, the trees may be transferred for about 3s. 6d., and the stools of underwood for from 1s. to 2s. per stool."—P. 341.

In another view of his expenditure, Sir Henry Steuart fixes on a very considerable space of ground, which he had fully occupied with wood during a period of eight years, and shows *data* for

rating his annual expenditure at fifty-eight pounds ten shillings yearly;—a sum certainly not too extravagant to be bestowed on any favourite object of pursuit, and far inferior in amount to that which is, in most instances, thrown away on a pet-farm. We have dwelt thus long on the subject of expense, because it forms the most formidable objection to every new system, is most generally adopted, and most completely startling to the student. But where so many persons, acting with the very purpose of experiment after allowance has been made for difference of circumstances, are found to come so near each other in their estimates, and that *twelve shillings* for the *expense of transplanting a tree of thirty feet high* forms the *average of the calculation*, it will not surely be deemed an extraordinary tax on so important an operation.

But, although we have found the system to be at once original, effectual, and attended with moderate expense, we are not sanguine enough to hope that it will at once find general introduction. The application of steam and of gas to the important functions which they at present perform, was slowly and reluctantly adopted, after they had been opposed for many years by the prejudices of the public. Yet these were supported by such effective arguments *ad crumenam*, as might, one would have thought, have ensured their advocates a favourable hearing. The present discoverer is a gentleman of liberal fortune, who, after having ornamented his own domain, has little interest whether his neighbours imitate his example or no. The system, too, must

be subjected to the usual style of sneering misrepresentation which is applied to all innovators, until they gain the public to their side, and rise above the reach of detraction. We have also to anticipate the indifference of country-gentlemen, too indolent to conquer the difficulty of getting the fitting and indispensable machinery, or to procure the assistance of experienced workmen. Even in the cases in which the new system may be brought to a trial, it may fall under discredit from the haste of the proprietor, or the no less formidable conceit and prejudices of the workman. The one may be disposed to leave out or hurry over some of the details, which are peculiarly slow and gradual, though producing such an immediate effect when completed; the other, unless closely watched, will assuredly revert to his own ancient practice, in despite of every charge to the contrary. In either case, the failure which may ensue will be imputed to the Allanton system, though it should be rather attributed to departure from its rules.

Notwithstanding all these obstacles, the principle is so good, and the application so successful, that we shall be much surprised if, erelong, some professional person does not make himself master of the process, and proceed to strive for that eminence which he cannot fail to achieve when it is found he possesses the art of changing the face of nature, like the scenes in a theatre, and can convert, almost instantly, a desert to an Eden. Nurserymen and designers will then find it for their interest to have the necessary machinery, and gangs of experienced

workmen, to enable them to contract for raising, transferring, and upholding any particular number of trees, which a country-gentleman of moderate fortune may desire to place in groups, or singly, in his park. The alteration will be thus effected without the proprietor, who wishes but to transplant some score or two of trees, being obliged to incur the full expenses of providing and instructing superintendents, as if he meant to countermarch the whole advance of Birnam wood to Dunsinane. Earlier or later, this beautiful and rational system will be brought into general action, when *it will do more to advance the picturesque beauty of the country in five years than the slow methods hitherto adopted can attain in fifty.*

Our readers are now enabled to answer with confidence the question of Macbeth :—

> " Who can impress the forest? Bid the tree
> Unfix his earth-bound root? "

But the subject, though to ourselves of special interest, has already, perhaps, detained some readers too long. *Non omnes arbusta juvant.*

ARTICLE XVI.

TYTLER'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

[*This Article, headed,* "*History of Scotland. By* PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, Esq., F.R.S.E. and F.A.S. *Volumes* 1 *and* 2. 8*vo. Edinburgh,* 1829," *appeared in the Quarterly Review for November,* 1829.]

IN our last Number, we made some remarks on the history of the northern part of this island during those ages in which the light dawns slowly as the sunrise on a morning of mist. The present author has adopted for the subject of his work a period somewhat later than that at which we left off, and thus escapes the dim and doubtful discussion over which our heads have ached, and our readers' eyes have perhaps slumbered. Feeling our own optics a little too much dazzled by passing at once from the darkness of Kenneth MacAlpine's period into the comparative full light of Alexander the Third's reign, we shall introduce our readers more gently to the latter era; nor can we do so without expressing our hope that Mr Tytler may

find time, before completing his projected labours, to furnish us with some preliminary matter in the shape of introduction, or otherwise, so as to inform his readers of what royal race Alexander sprung, and over what people he reigned.

On this point it is singular to discover that the Scots, whose fabulous history represented them, down to the end of the eighteenth century, as a nation of the purest blood and most ancient descent in Europe, can, notwithstanding that vaunt, be easily traced as a mixed race, formed out of the collision and subsequent union of several different populations, which remained slightly connected or occasionally dissevered, till the difference in their manners was worn away by time, and they coalesced at length into one people and kingdom.

We have formerly shown that, in the year 496, a body of Irish, then called Scots, had colonized Argyllshire, and made fierce wars on the decaying province of Rome, by the assistance, doubtless, of those called Meatæ, or Middle Britons, who, subjected by the Romans during their power, rose against them when it began to decline. These Scots, moreover, made war upon the Caledonians, more latterly called Northern Picts or Deucaledonians, who had for ages been in possession of the greater part of Angusshire, Perthshire, Fife, and the north-east of Scotland up to the Moray firth. Beyond that estuary it would appear the Scandinavians had colonies upon the fertile shores of Moray, and among the mountains of Sutherland, of which the name speaks for itself that it was

given by the Norwegians; and probably they had also settlements in Caithness and the Orcades. When, therefore, Kenneth finally defeated, dispersed, and destroyed the Picts, he obtained possession of the middle provinces of Scotland from sea to sea, having joined his original dominions on St George's Channel to the eastern shores washed by the German Ocean. Behind him, to the north-east, lay the warlike and poor Scandinavians; but in front of his kingdom, and between that and the present English frontier, lay three states, enjoying a boisterous and unsettled independence, and each peopled by a mixed race.

The first of these was Galloway, then extended considerably beyond the limits of the shires of Wigton and Kirkcudbright, to which the name is now limited. This remote and desolate region erelong acknowledged a vassalage to the crown; but being inhabited by a very brave and barbarous people, continued, substantially, a separate state till about 1234. Secondly, bounded on the east, and partly on the north, by Galloway, lay Strathclwyd, inhabited by British tribes, of the nation generally called Meatæ. These also were compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the throne. They may be generally described as occupying the territory from the castle of Dunbarton to near the village of Melrose; but their limits, like those of all savage nations, were variable and uncertain, as they failed or succeeded in wars with their neighbours. The last mention of the inhabitants of Strathclwyd, as a people having a separate kinglet

or prince, occurs in 1018. Thirdly, still to the eastward of the Strathclwyd Britons lay the provinces now called Berwickshire and the three Lothians. This fertile country was the object of cupidity, in a much greater degree, than the barren mountains of the more western frontier; and, after the decay of the Roman power, it lay peculiarly exposed to the inroads of the Picts, who appear to have settled there a large division of their nation, called Vecturiones, who mingled, doubtless, among such remains of Britons as might still dwell to the south of the Firth of Forth. But when the sword of the Saxons drove back the Pictish incursions, the victors appear to have won from the Picts all the flat country comprehending Berwickshire and East Lothian, and the greater part of West Lothian, which they joined to the Saxon kingdom of Deiria, or Northumberland. The Northumbrian Saxons being in their turn hard pressed by the Danes, their kingdom was so much weakened, that the Scots were tempted to cross the frith of Forth, then called the Scottish Sea, for the purpose of occupying Lothian; and about 830 they made themselves masters of the keys of that province, Dunbar and Edwinsbury (Edinburgh). At a later period (961), Edgar, King of England, in a council held at York, divided the territory hitherto designated as Northumberland, into two parts. The more southern half corresponds with the modern county of Northumberland, the northern moiety comprehended Lothian and the district now called Berwickshire. Finding this latter division of the

country so obnoxious to the attacks of the Scots, Edgar made an agreement with Kenneth the Second, and conferred upon him that portion, to be held of the English crown. Thus came Lothian to the government of the Northern Princes, but by grant from the King of England, and therefore under condition of paying homage—a circumstance which has thrown additional confusion into a confused part of British history. Finally, upon like terms, a considerable part of Westmoreland and Cumberland was some time after conceded to the Scot.

From the time of Kenneth Mac Alpine to that of Macbeth—that is, from 841 to 1040, a space of about two centuries, we have a line of fifteen kings of Scots, of whom it is easy to perceive that, in spite of the absurd prejudices concerning the inferiority of the Gaelic race, they sustained successfully the sceptre of Kenneth, and, by repeated battles both with the English and the Danes, not only repelled the attacks of their neighbours, but consolidated the strength of their kingdom, gradually modelling an association of barbarous and in part wandering tribes into the consistence of a regular state. It is true that, through the mist of years, these sceptered shades are seen but indistinctly and dimly; yet, as we catch a glimpse, we see them occupied always in battle, and often in conquest.

The more civilized descendants of the murdered Duncan come on the stage with an interest peculiar to themselves, as well as that which arises from

the name of their ancestor, at the tale of whose murder our imagination has been so early awakened. If it be true, as we are told by Fordun, that Malcolm, called Canmore (*i. e.* Greathead), actually repaired, during the usurpation of Macbeth, to the court of England, already refined by the multitude of Normans whom Edward the Confessor assembled around him, we may conclude him to have been the first of his race who obtained some share of a better education than the wilderness called Scotland could at that time afford. His history shows symptoms of a vigorous and regular government. He had strength and generosity sufficient to receive and protect the heir of his benefactor Edward, when the battle of Hastings had thrust him from his throne. He wedded Margaret, sister to the disinherited Atheling, who, by the influence which she obtained over her husband, tamed the impetuosity of a fiery spirit, and inclined to acts of religion and charity blood which, like that of Malcolm's ancestors, was naturally of a choleric temperament. There can be no doubt that, during the reign of this king, considerable improvement was made by the Scottish nation. The King's bounty and the Queen's benevolence drew to the court of Malcolm Canmore tides of various emigrants, both Normans and Saxons, and these brought with them their respective arts and languages. The English tongue already prevailed in Lothian, where the Northumbrian Saxons and the Danes had been long seated, and where they had communicated to the descendants of the Vecturiones, or

Southern Picts, a language which, from their previous intercourse with Scandinavians, that people might be in some degree prepared to receive. When, therefore, the Scottish princes made the important acquisition of Lothian and Berwick, they found the Anglo-Saxon, or English, completely established there; as being the language of a people who had more ideas to express, it must have been more copious than the Gaelic, and we can, consequently, see no reason to wonder that it should have become, by degrees, the dialect of their court.

In the introduction of the Saxon language into his kingdom, Malcolm himself was a considerable agent. As frequently happens, he caught the flame of religion from the pure torch of conjugal affection. His love of his consort led him to engage in the devotional services which afterwards procured for her the title of a saint. Totally illiterate, the King was unable to peruse his wife's missals and prayer-books; but he had them gorgeously bound, and frequently, by kissing them, expressed his veneration for what he could not understand. When the Queen undertook to correct some alleged abuses of the church, Malcolm stood interpreter betwixt the fair and royal reformer and such of the Scottish clergy as did not understand English, which Malcolm loved because it was the native tongue of Margaret. Such pictures occurring in history delight by their beauty and their simplicity. A king of fierce barbarians, himself the bravest of mankind, takes on him the yoke of devotion at the voice of a mild and beautiful woman, and serves,

at least, as a channel for conveying to his savage subjects the instructions which he himself probably comprehended but imperfectly. It reminds us of the classic gems in which Love is represented as bridling the lion. The more violent mood of Malcolm aided the effects of his conjugal affection, and assisted, in a very different manner, the propagation of the Anglo-Saxon language in the north. The spouse of Margaret, mild as a lamb when by her side, was in war an untamed and devastating tiger. Simeon of Durham records, that in 1070 the King of Scots laid waste Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham with such fury, that, besides a great number killed, he swept off such a host of captives, that for many years they were to be found as bondmen and bondwomen not only in every village, but in the poorest hovels in Scotland. There is also to be added the extreme severity of William the Conqueror, who, to be avenged of the frequent revolts occurring in the north of England, plundered the province as that of an enemy, forcing many thousands to fly into Scotland, where they were protected by Queen Margaret.

Malcolm then enlarged his dominions by conquest, illuminated them by increase of knowledge, and left Scotland a united and consolidated people, in comparison to what he found it. With subjects composed of so many different tribes and nations, and even languages—himself totally uneducated, this prince, the founder of the monarchy as it finally existed, deserves no small praise for the defence which he made against the English and Normans,

and for the improvements which he was able, in the midst of civil dissensions and foreign war, to introduce among his uncultivated subjects. After his death, at the battle of Alnwick (A. D. 1093), it seemed that his labours were about to be destroyed. His brother Donald (the Donalbane of Shakspeare) assumed the crown, according to a custom prevailing in that period, which preferred the brother of the deceased monarch to his eldest son, and endeavoured to conciliate the prejudices of such of the Scots as were attached to the rude manners of their forefathers, by expelling all foreigners from the kingdom. Some unimportant revolutions took place: and more than one kingly phantom had been seen on the throne, before it was at length more permanently occupied by Alexander, son of Canmore. He was a high-spirited man, who resisted with gallantry, constancy, and success, the various attempts of the English prelates of Canterbury and York to extend their spiritual dominion over Scotland, and invade, in so doing, the liberties of the Scottish church.

His brother David succeeded him in 1123, and more than rivalled the manly character of Canmore. He, too, was sagacious, wise, and valiant; an affectionate husband, and a careful parent: usually victorious in war and prudent in peace; with the advantage of a much better education than had fallen to his father's lot. David was early involved in war; for, being the uncle of the Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., the King of Scots held himself obliged to maintain the succession of that

princess against the usurpation of Stephen. Considering how much England was disunited during this reign, it did not, at one period, seem improbable that the territories of the Scottish monarch might have been pushed up to the Humber. But the successes which David obtained only encouraged the insubordinate spirit of the Galwegians, and other rude tribes, which composed his army; and, owing to their disorganization, not less than to the fidelity and valour of the barons of the north of England, he sustained, A.D. 1138, a severe defeat at Cuton Moor, near Northallerton, where, if he had obtained victory, the destinies of the two divisions of the island might, perhaps, have been singularly reversed. As it was, David's power continued so little injured, that Stephen saw the necessity of ceding to him the whole earldom of Northumberland, excepting the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle: Cumberland was restored to him at the same time, and on the same condition of homage. David did much for the improvement of his subjects, and even for the civilisation of the Galwegians, upon whom he imposed regulations, tending to prevent their unsparing ravage and bloodthirsty spirit of slaughter. He founded very many religious houses, the endowments of which were afterwards much grudged by his successors, one of whom termed him, in allusion to his canonization, "a sore saint to the crown." His views, however, were more patriotic than his descendants were willing to comprehend. In the monastic establishments, whatever learning the times pos-

sessed was carefully preserved: their inhabitants were sometimes engaged in educating the sons of the gentry and nobility; for their own comfort, they cultivated the arts of husbandry and gardening; and, finally, being protected, at this early age, by the sanctity of their character, the church lands alone afforded a safe refuge for agriculture.

Malcolm IV., who succeeded his father David, is commonly, but erroneously, called Malcolm the Maiden.[1] This was an active and high-spirited prince; yet his treaties with England were unfortunate. Henry II., now in full possession of the English crown, resumed from the Scottish king that portion of Northumberland which Stephen had ceded in his weakness. The English historians assert that Lothian itself (comitatus Lodonensis) was included in the cession. But if the *superiority* of England was acknowledged in that province, it is certain that Lothian was not, in fact, delivered up, as was the case with Northumberland. In the interior, Malcolm IV. greatly consolidated his kingdom. He subdued a formidable insurrection in Galloway, and reduced the spirit of that fierce and intractable people. He brought to obedience the remote county of Moray, occupied chiefly by Scandinavians, and is said to have dispersed the inhabitants over other parts of Scotland. The imagination recoils when we find in ancient history accounts of such violent experiments. But the people on whom they were wrought were few

[1] It appears from a grant made by him to the abbey of Kelso (Cartulary, folio 16) that Malcolm the Maiden had a natural son.

in number, and, subsisting by the chase and by their herds and flocks, found, possibly, no very great hardship in exchanging one corner of the wilderness for another. Malcolm died in 1165, and was succeeded by his brother William.

The precipitate courage of this monarch, commonly called William the Lion, brought great calamities on himself and his kingdom. He felt resentment for the resumption of Northumberland by Henry II.; and, engaging in a rash war with the English monarch on that account, was defeated by an inferior force, and made prisoner in an unnecessary skirmish. Galled with impatience under the captivity into which he had precipitated himself, he agreed to purchase his liberty by surrendering the independence of his kingdom. This shameful bargain was made in 1174; by which William became in express terms liegeman of Henry for *all* his dominions. In a quarrel with the pope, the prince, who could thus betray the honours of the Scottish crown, maintained steadfastly the freedom of the Scottish church; and, while the superior, Henry, was causing himself to be scourged at the tomb of Thomas à Becket, his vassal William was setting the threats and actual excommunications of the Romish see at protestant-like defiance.

Upon the accession of Richard I., the desire of that chivalrous prince to obtain the means of seeking glory in Palestine, and, perhaps, some sense that his father had abused the right of conquest towards the king of Scots, induced him to enter

into a new treaty—formally restoring all that he could claim by the new instruments which Henry II. extorted during William's captivity, and replacing matters between the Kings of England and Scotland on the same footing on which they had stood in the reign of Malcolm. Thus the kingdom of Scotland, properly so called, was restored to its independence; while the possessions in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as well as those in Northumberland and the province of Lothian, all of which had made part of the heptarchy, continued to be held by a feudatory title from the English crown. And the consequence of Cœur-de-Lion's generosity, or policy, was the existence of a peace, not entirely unbroken, but without the interruption of any great war, or serious national quarrel, for more than a century.

The reign of Alexander II., though not without domestic incidents of importance, is marked by no considerable revolutions in Scotland. This just and prudent prince succeeded to his father William in 1214. Instead of the fatal attempt of warring upon England, he turned his attention to the regulation of the interior of his own kingdom by wise and just laws, great part of which are still in force. He finally subjected the Galwegians; he withstood, with constancy like that of his forefathers, the encroachments of the pope—whose legates obtained only partial success in levying their exactions within the realm of Scotland. Finally, he expired in the act of endeavouring to compel the Lord of the Isles to do that homage to the crown of Scotland

for the Hebrides which he used to render to the King of Norway. Alexander was seized with a fever, and died in the island of Kerrera in 1249.

It is at this particular point that the new historian of Scotland, Mr Patrick Fraser Tytler, has taken up the annals of his country—a most interesting era, no doubt; when the peaceful, and even splendid, character of the reign of Alexander III. presents a contrast equally striking and affecting to the violent and bloody period which followed; when of two sister countries which nature had formed for union and perpetual friendship, the more powerful was engaged in forwarding the most unconscientious oppression, while the weaker was driven now into acts of treacherous and feigned submission, and now into those of unrestrained and vindictive cruelty. Nevertheless, as we have already hinted, we wish Mr Tytler would bestow a portion of the research which he has brought to the later period, upon those dark ages preceding the accession of Alexander, which might be made with advantage the subject of an introductory dissertation or volume. The facts are not, indeed, numerous; but, cleared of the hypotheses which have been formed, and the spleen and virulence with which these have been defended, some account of Scotland from the earliest period is a chapter of importance to the history of mankind. We can see, after the subjugation of the Picts by Kenneth Macalpine, a miscellaneous association of wild and barbarous tribes blending together and associating themselves, so far as the low countries of Scotland

were concerned, into one state and one people, speaking one language, and governed by one monarch. In the reign of Alexander III., the Picts were no more—the Galwegians had become peaceable—the Britons of Strath Clyde had vanished from history—the Saxons, Danes, and other inhabitants of Lothian, had melted into one nation with the people who possessed the shires of Fife, Stirling, Perth, and Angus. The Scandinavian inhabitants of the remoter counties had been displaced and blended with the mass of population elsewhere. The English had become a friendly people, exchanging acts of faith and kindliness with their northern neighbours; and the savage wars, which had so often ravaged the frontiers of both kingdoms, seemed at sleep for ever.

When examined more closely, Scotland, though it could at most be reckoned a second-rate kingdom in Europe, appears to have exhibited, nevertheless, all the materials of a regular government and an improving country. The exercise of strict justice, so far as the regal power extended, preserved the fruits of industry and the means of civilisation; and peace, and the protection of the magistrate, encouraged commerce. The town of Berwick, in particular, then belonging to the northern prince, "enjoyed a prosperity, such as threw every other Scottish port into the shade," says Mr Tytler; "and caused the contemporary author of the *Chronicles of Lanercost* to distinguish it by the name of a second Alexandria"—an epithet not undeserved, since the customs of that town amounted

to about one-fourth of all the customs of England. Mr Tytler's picture of the northern court and army at this period is highly interesting, when we consider how short a while before these kings had been barbarous chiefs, not unsuspected of cannibal propensities; and their followers, hordes of savages, which spared neither sex—even to the extent of tossing infants upon their pikes; a favourite amusement, it is said, amongst the Galwegians who attended David I. to Cuton Moor.

The following circumstances of regal pomp are recorded with some degree of triumph, as equal, if not superior, to the contemporary magnificence of the southern court:

"As early as the age of Malcolm Canmore, an unusual splendour was introduced into the Scottish court by his Saxon queen. This princess, as we learn from her life by Turgot, her own confessor, brought in the use of rich and precious foreign stuffs, of which she encouraged the importation from distant countries. In her own dress, she was unusually magnificent; whilst she increased the parade of the public appearance of the sovereign by augmenting the number of his personal attendants, and employing vessels of gold and silver in the service of his table." (Mr Tytler ought to have noticed the candid admission of his authority, that, if not of solid plate, the vessels were at least lackered with gold or silver.) "Under the reign of Alexander the First, the intercourse of Scotland with the East, and the splendid appearance of the sovereign, are shown by a singular ceremony which took place in the High Church of St Andrews. This monarch, anxious to evince his devotion to the blessed apostle, not only endowed that religious house with numerous lands, and conferred upon it various and important immunities, but, as an additional evidence of his piety, he commanded his favourite Arabian horse to be led up to the high altar, whose saddle and bridle were splendidly ornamented, and his housings of a rich cloth of velvet. A squire at the same time brought the King's body armour, which was of Turkish manufacture, and studded

with jewels, with his spear and his shield of silver, and these, along with the noble horse and his furniture, the King, in the presence of his prelates and barons, solemnly devoted and presented to the church. The housings and arms were shown in the days of the historian who has recorded the event."—Vol. ii. pp. 236, 237.

Mr Tytler has shown, with great research and ingenuity, that Scotland, in this early period, possessed a considerable knowledge of such arts and sciences as were in estimation elsewhere. He has justly celebrated the patriotism of the clergy; who successfully defended their national freedom, in several instances, against the intrusive domination of Rome, and the ambition of the English prelates. In philosophy, he appeals to the subtile and celebrated Joannes Duns Scotus; in the exact sciences, to the more questionable attainments of Michael Scott and John Holywood. He dwells, also, with fondness, on the early passion of his countrymen, from whatever race derived, for poetry and music.

"They possessed a wild imagination, and a dark and gloomy mythology; they peopled the caves, the woods, the rivers, and the mountains, with spirits, elves, giants, and dragons; and are we to wonder that the Scots, a nation in whose veins the blood of all those ancient races is unquestionably mingled, should, at a very remote period, have evinced an enthusiastic admiration for song and poetry; that the harper was to be found amongst the officers who composed the personal state of the sovereign, and that the country maintained a privileged race of wandering minstrels, who eagerly seized on the prevailing superstitions and romantic legends, and wove them in rude but sometimes very expressive versification into their stories and ballads: who were welcome guests at the gate of every feudal castle, and fondly beloved by the great body of the people?"—Vol. ii., pp. 368, 369.

The national means of defence are also celebrated, and with perspicuity, simplicity, and, at the same time, more beauty of language, than we are accustomed to find bestowed on antiquarian subjects. We find an accurate account of the principal feudal fortresses; to which the author adds a passage graphically descriptive of the Scottish baron and his household.

"Innumerable castles and smaller strengths, from the seats of the highest earls, whose power was almost kingly, down to the single towers of the retainer or vassal, with their low iron-ribbed door, and loop-holed windows, were scattered over every district in Scotland; and even in the present day, the traveller cannot explore the most unfrequented scenes, and the remotest glens of the country, without meeting some grey relic of other days, reminding him that the chain of feudal despotism had there planted one of its thousand links, and around which there often linger those fine traditions, where fiction has lent her romantic colours to history. In the vicinity of these strongholds, in which the Scottish barons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries held their residence, there was cleared from wood as much ground as was necessary for the support of that numerous train of vassals and retainers, which formed what was termed the 'following' of their lord, and who were supported in a style of rude and abundant hospitality. The produce of his fields and forests, his huge herds of swine, his flocks and cattle, his granaries and breweries, his mills and malting houses, his dovecots, gardens, orchards, and 'infield and outfield' wealth, all lent their riches to maintain those formidable bands of warlike knights and vassals, who were ready, on every summons, to surround the banner of their lord. Around these castles, also, were placed the rude habitations and cottages belonging to the more immediate servants and inferior dependents of the baron,—to his armourers, tailors, wrights, masons, falconers, forest-keepers, and many others, who ministered to his necessities, his comforts, or his pleasures. It happened, too, not unfrequently, that ambitious of the security which the vicinity of a feudal castle ensured, the free farmers or opulent tradesmen of those remote times requested permission to build their habitations and booths near its walls, which, for

payment of a small rent, was willingly allowed; and we shall afterwards have occasion to remark, that to this practice we perhaps owe the origin of our towns and royal burghs in Scotland. It appears, also, from the authentic evidence of the Chartularies, that at this period, upon the large feudal estates belonging to the nobles or to the church, were to be found small villages or collections of hamlets and cottages, termed Villæ in the charters of the times, annexed to which was a district of land called a Territorium. This was cultivated in various proportions by the higher ranks of the husbandmen, who possessed it, either in part or in whole, as their own property, which they held by lease, and for which they paid a rent, or by the villeyns and cottars, who were themselves, in frequent instances, as we shall immediately see, the property of the lord of the soil. Thus, by a similar process, which we find took place in England under the Normans, and which is very clearly to be traced in Domesday Book, the greater feudal barons were possessed not only of immense estates, embracing within them field and forest, river, lake, and mountain, but of numerous and flourishing villages, for which they received a regular rent, and of whose wealth and gains they always held a share, because they were frequently the masters of the persons and property of the tradesmen and villeyns, by whom such early communities were inhabited. In these villages the larger divisions, under the names of caracutes, bovates, or oxgates, were cultivated by the husbandmen, and the cottars under them, while, for their own maintenance, each of these poor labourers was the master of a cottage, with a small piece of ground, for which he paid a trifling rent to the lord of the soil."—Vol. ii., pp. 207–209.

The army of the King of Scotland is said by Matthew Paris to have been "numerous and brave." He had a thousand horsemen (men-at-arms, viz.), which were tolerably mounted, though not indeed on Spanish or Italian horses. His infantry (including light horse, doubtless) amounted to nearly 100,000. To such national advantages, and to such formidable means of defending them, had Scotland attained during the minority of Alex-

ander III. The only dangerous task reserved for him seemed to be that of checking and repelling the attacks of the Norwegians. The quarrel concerning the *superiority* of the Hebridean islands, in prosecution of which Alexander II. had lost his life at Kerrera, still subsisted between the son of Alexander and Haco of Norway, a king of redoubted power and skill in arms; and no sooner was the heir of Scotland arisen to the years of manhood than the contest was renewed.

In the midst of summer 1264, Haco embarked at the head of a fleet and army, considered as the most formidable which ever left Norway to seek spoil and glory on distant shores. Mr Tytler candidly compares the Norse and Scottish accounts of this memorable expedition, and, allowing for the partiality of both, endeavours to reconcile them with each other, or to ascertain the probabilities of the disputed points. It is, perhaps, on account of these discrepancies, that Dr Macpherson, in his *Critical Dissertations*, arises to such a pitch of incredulity, as to doubt whether such an event as the battle of Largs ever took place. The veracity of the *Norwegian Chronicle* is ascertained by what Mr Tytler justly calls "a fine example of the clear and certain light reflected by the exact sciences upon history." This ancient narrative mentions an eclipse of the sun witnessed by Haco and his fleet, and that eclipse, having been calculated by modern astronomers, is found to have taken place on the 5th of August, 1263. The powerful fleet of Norway arrived in the frith of Clyde, while Alexander,

assembling his forces, moved towards the shores threatened with attack. The Norwegian armament suffered by a storm, nor was its violence entirely abated when they reached the bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde. Here the Norsemen attempted their projected descent, and here they were met and opposed by the various divisions of the Scottish army, as they came up in succession. A protracted battle of three days was maintained by the invaders persisting in their attempts to land: the plain, yet covered with cairns and rude monuments of the slain, with the ancient weapons repeatedly found there, bear witness to the sanguinary character of the contest. The invaders found their way back to their ships with great difficulty and loss, but the defensive army had also sustained much damage in their contest with the "dragons of the wave." The Scandinavian chronicler naturally imputes the failure of the expedition to the tempestuous weather, while the Scottish authors claim the victory as due to the bravery of their countrymen. Haco escaped, with great loss, to the Orkney isles, where he died of the fatigues which he had incurred in the course of his expedition, and of the mortification which attended its conclusion. The field of Largs was a decisive event, which ended for ever the wars betwixt Scotland and Norway. The renewal of quarrels was guarded against by a marriage betwixt Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, and the youthful Eric, Haco's successor.

And now, triumphant over her last open and avowed enemy, under the rule of a monarch who

was still in the flower of life, the royal line strengthened by the existence of two sons of Alexander, and the supposed friendship of Edward I. of England, it might have been thought that Scotland had a fine opportunity of pursuing the course of internal improvement and civilisation which she had adopted for two centuries, and pursued with increasing success during the last of them. But heaven had ordered it otherwise. The tokens and the tidings of evil came upon Alexander by messenger after messenger, as they assailed the inspired poet of Uz. The two princes (his sons) died without issue; Margaret, Queen of Norway, also died, leaving only one child, a girl, called by Scottish historians the Maiden of Norway. "And thus," says Mr Tytler, "the King, still in the flower ot his age, found himself a widower, and bereft by death of all his children."

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[*The account of the subsequent events, down to the decision of Edward in favour of John Baliol, is omitted—as containing nothing which does not occur elsewhere in the present collection of Sir Walter Scott's Miscellanies.*[1]]

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Mr Tytler, who has traced the affairs of Scotland with a firm and faithful hand to this fatal crisis, proceeds to show how Edward I. availed himself of the power thus acquired to award the throne to John Baliol; and how, having done so, the same Edward took occasion to push him to resistance by

[1] [See *post*, vol. xxii. *Tales of a Grandfather*, chap. vi.]

the most rigid and harsh exertion of his claim of paramount superiority, in virtue of which he summoned him to answer in the English courts, on the slightest occasion, and made him feel at every turn the disgrace and mortification of a mere dependent. Goaded to rebellion, by finding himself thus exposed to insult and injury, where he had expected amity and honour, John Baliol rushed into a hasty war, in which the English defeated his forces and overran his kingdom, until he found himself obliged to abdicate his crown in favour of Edward, under every rite which could add disgrace to so humiliating a ceremonial.

Chaucer observes "that there is no guise so new that it has not been old," and those may be probably of the same opinion who compare the crafty devices of Edward when eager for the throne of Scotland, with the vows of friendship to the Spanish royal family paraded on a memorable occasion by the late Emperor of France. Nor are the causes, owing to which these powerful and ambitious men fell short of their purpose, when they appeared most secure of it, without more than one point of coincidence. First, success, and the self-opinion attendant upon it, had elevated both Plantagenet and Napoleon above consideration of the extensive tasks which their ambition had cut out for them; and as the latter might, in all likelihood, have achieved the conquest of Spain, had he not been called back to Austria and afterwards to Russia, so Edward would, it is scarcely to be doubted, have completed the subjugation of Scotland but for the necessity of carrying his arms into France.

Secondly, neither the one nor the other of these haughty sovereigns calculated justly or truly upon the energy with which a free and high-spirited people will turn on their oppressors, or what degree of misery they will be willing to endure rather than yield in a struggle so holy. Thirdly, in either case, the Almighty armed in the cause of suffering freedom one of those men of rare talent who determine the fate of nations; nor, though fortunate in a much more extensive scale of exertion, will the character of the English general be injured by comparing it to that of the Scottish king.

The first champion of Scottish freedom was, indeed, of a different and somewhat ruder moulding. He was that Sir William Wallace, of whom history can say little, and tradition can never be silent.

"The family," says Mr Tytler, "was ancient," (we will add, in the Shakspearian sense, *gentle*), "but neither rich nor noble. In those days, bodily strength and knightly prowess were of the highest consequence in commanding respect and ensuring success. Wallace had an iron frame. His make, as he grew up to manhood, approached almost to the gigantic, and his personal strength was superior to the common run of even the strongest men. His passions were hasty and violent; a strong hatred to the English, who now insolently lorded it over Scotland, began to show itself at a very early period of his life; and this aversion was fostered in the youth by an uncle, a priest, who, deploring the calamities of his country, was never weary of extolling the sweets of liberty and the miseries of dependence."—Vol. i. p. 125.

This formidable hero was placed by his countrymen at the head of an insurrection which swept Scotland, defeated King Edward's delegates, and regained almost all the national fortresses. But,

though almost adored by the people, he could not maintain his interest among the nobility; they were arrogant and jealous, and the champion of Scotland was irascible, and intolerant of restraint and contradiction. In war he was merciless and cruel, witness the description by Henry, the minstrel—who, though he exaggerates and adds to his adventures, seems to have had a just idea of his character—of his burning the church of Dunotter, built upon those sea-girdled rocks, where the castle of the same name now stands. The passage is not without poetical merit:—

> "Wallace on fire gard [1] set all hastily,
> Burnt up the court, and all that was therein,
> Atour [2] the rock the lave [3] run with great din,
> Some hung on craggs right dolefully to die,
> Some leapt, some fell, some fluttered in the sea;
> No southern on life was left without that hold,
> And them within they burned to ashes cold.
> When this was done, fele [4] fell on knees soon,
> At the bishop asked absolution.
> Wallace said, laughing—'I forgive ye all;
> Are ye war-men—repent ye for so small?
> They rued not us in the town of Ayr,
> Our brave barons when that they hanged there.'"—
> *Wallace*, book vii.

Edward marched to victory and vengeance. He engaged Wallace at Falkirk, where the nobility, or such of them as with their followers composed the Scottish line of cavalry, left the field without fighting, and abandoned the infantry, who fought with even more than wonted obstinacy, to the fury of the English. Wallace, after the loss of this battle,

[1] Caused. [2] Around. [3] The rest. [4] Many; German, *viel*.

retired from the office of guardian of the kingdom. After an honourable but ineffectual resistance on the part of Sir John Comyn and Sir Simon Fraser, the nobles and wealthier part of the gentry submitted to the conqueror. Wallace alone, who never would accept the slightest boon at the hands of Edward's lieutenants, or consent to truce or parley of any sort, was still in obscure but constant opposition to *the southron*. He was, at length, betrayed, taken, and executed. We transcribe an account of his fate, as a good specimen of the style and manner of our historian:—

"His fate, as was to be expected, was soon decided; but the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution, reflect an indelible stain upon the character of Edward, and, were they not stated by the English historians themselves, could scarcely be believed. Having been carried to London, he was brought with great pomp to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of treason. A crown of laurel was in mockery placed on his head, because Wallace had been heard to boast that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall. Sir Peter Mallorie, the King's justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the King of England, as having burnt the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and miserably slain and tortured the liege subjects of his master the King. Wallace indignantly and truly repelled the charge of treason, as he never had sworn fealty to Edward; but to the other articles of accusation he pleaded no defence; they were notorious, and he was condemned to death. Discrowned and chained, he was now dragged at the tails of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the elms in Smithfield. After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out, and burnt before his face. His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen. 'These,' says an old English historian,

'were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfanons, which they had once proudly followed.' But he might have added, that they were trophies far more glorious than the richest banner that had ever been borne before him; and if Wallace already had been, for his daring and romantic character, the idol of the people, if they had long regarded him as the only man who had asserted, throughout every change of circumstances, the independence of his country, now that the mutilated limbs of this martyr to liberty were brought amongst them, it may well be conceived how deep and inextinguishable were their feelings of pity and revenge. Tyranny is proverbially short-sighted, and Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonising the memory of his enemy, and increasing the unforgiving animosity of a free people."—Vol. i. pp. 213–215.

The people of Scotland had been compelled to submission; but it is probable that, even whilst serving under these engagements, they designed the evasion and breach of their oaths to Edward. The conqueror, on the other hand, did his best to draw close these fragile bonds of allegiance, and strengthen them by the rules of civil polity. Since the reign of Canmore, the feudal system had been gradually making its way into Scotland. To the great vassals it was recommended by the clear and concise form in which it placed their right of possession; and to kings it was acceptable on account of the flattering doctrine on which it rested,—that all the land of the kingdom belonged originally to the crown, and was only to be inherited as holding more or less directly of the sovereign, and as reverting to him in case of any act of disobedience. It was the policy of Edward to introduce this system into Scotland to the exclusion of all others; so that whilst the natives, on the one hand, were subjected

to laws similar to those of England, they should be, on the other, deprived of those ancient customs which preserved the memory of their independence. The words of the provision are,—" that the custom of the Scots and the Brets shall for the future be prohibited and no longer practised." We strongly recommend this obscure and singular passage to the care of Mr Tytler, in his next edition, since it does not, in the present, appear to have attracted his attention. We point it out to his observation, the rather that we entertain an idea that light will be thereby cast on the controversy respecting the law-book, called *Regiam Majestatem*. This treatise itself, purporting to be a collection of ancient Scottish statutes, is, in fact, unless in passages containing such differences as are or seem to have been introduced for the nonce, a mere transcript of Ranulph de Glanville's treatise, termed (like the other, from its incipient words) *Regiam Potestatem*. Now, as the one of these books has been indubitably copied from the other; and as no motive can be assigned why the English writer should have borrowed from the Scottish, it is at least worth enquiry whether the *Regiam Majestatem* may not have been a fabrication, got up and interpolated by the policy of Edward I. to impose on the Scottish nation an English code, under the pretext that it was a compendium of their own laws. Thus might this artful prince, while pretending to revive the statutes of King David and older monarchs, substitute the enactments of England in place of the consuetudinary regulations of the Scots and Brets

(or Britons), which were brought from the mountains of Argyle, and the wild recesses of Strath Clwyd. It is possible that, when closely enquired into, this stratagem may yet be accurately traced.

While Edward was preparing for the future legislation of Scotland, in a manner calculated to unite the people with those of England, the hopes of the Scots had again found a leader, of a character more formidable than had yet arisen. Robert Bruce, the young Earl of Carrick (grandson of him who had been a competitor for the crown), had, during the civil wars previous to 1305, repeatedly changed sides from the patriots to the English invaders, with a versatility more wavering than any person of the period. In that memorable year, he had the rashness or misfortune to stab Sir John Comyn, a nobleman of the highest rank, before the altar of the Dominican church of Dumfries; and a sense of the desperate state to which he had thus reduced himself, raised him from the condition of a sacrilegious homicide, to that of the candidate for the crown, which was his rightful inheritance, and of a patriot labouring for the freedom of his country. Unless for his assumption of such elevated claims, he must, from the nature of his crime, have sunk into an unpitied outlaw. The displaying open banner against England mustered his countrymen around him as a respected sovereign. His forces, however, when compared to those which assailed him, were like a drop of water in the ocean, and his complicated misfortunes of defeat, exile, death of some friends, and desertion of others, his own

personal sufferings, and the courage with which he endured them, showed how soon the approach of adversity had ripened the versatile and selfish Earl of Carrick into a wise, sagacious, and undaunted monarch. His distresses and his difficulties are narrated by Mr Tytler, with the animation called for by a tale of such romantic character; and the most brilliant age of Scotland is fortunate in having found an historian, whose sound judgment is accompanied by a graceful liveliness of imagination, and who does not give a shadow of countenance to the vulgar opinion that the flattest and dullest mode of detailing events must uniformly be that which approaches nearest to the truth.

Even while the life of the great Plantagenet was still twinkling like a taper in the socket, he had the mortification to learn that Bruce,—having wearied out the spite of fortune, or undergone the penance decreed by heaven for the mispent years of his youth, and for the deed of blood which opened his higher career,—had returned in triumph to Scotland, and gained friends and followers on every side. The monarch hastened to reassure himself of the object of so many years' ambition, so often lost when it seemed on the point of being gained; and he died as he came in sight of the obstinate land of mountains which, after all his attempts to enslave them, lay yet before him free and unsubdued. The wisdom and the enterprise of The Bruce had hitherto been balanced by the high qualities of Edward I., his equal in skill and bravery, and his superior in experience. When

the Scottish hero came to match himself with the imbecility of Edward II., it was far otherwise. It was after many delays,—some to be ascribed to the frivolous and contemptible love of idle minions and pleasures, some to a hesitation to measure himself with so redoubted an adversary,—that, stung at last with a sense of the dishonour he should sustain in suffering so fair an acquisition of his father's policy and bravery to be wrested from his dominion, the King of England finally assumed the purpose of invading Scotland in person.

The account of the battle of Bannockburn is given with national spirit; and Mr Tytler details with judgment the mode in which Robert Bruce provided against the superiority of the English men-at-arms by the position which he took, and the manner in which he strengthened it; as likewise the movement by which he discomfited the archery, in which the invaders were no less superior, by suddenly charging them with a body of light horse, kept in reserve for that purpose. Secured from these dangers, the phalanx of Scottish spearmen had opportunity to act with formidable energy. It is one of the most remarkable circumstances in history, that, notwithstanding the example shown them by the ardour of their monarchs, and in despite of the valour and skill with which the Scots usually disputed and often gained actions with the English where the forces were moderate on each side, their general battles, from the field of Dupplin to that of Pinkie, were uniformly lost by their inferiority in archery, the artillery of the day.

The brief but splendid period during which Scotland, actuated by the spirit, and upheld by the wisdom of her brave monarch, maintained a positive superiority over her haughty neighbour, is described with truth and vigour. It is no wonder the historian dwells with fondness on the portrait of the prince, whose personal character thus elevated that of an enfeebled and almost subdued nation. After recollecting, with regret, that we can only see Robert Bruce, through the mists which time has cast around him, as a figure of colossal proportion, "walking amongst his shadowy places,"—after tracing, as well as circumstances will admit, the tall and manly figure, strength of person, and courtesy of manners of this remarkable monarch—after noticing that, by the English themselves, he was held the third best knight in Europe, Mr Tytler is led naturally to remark that, but for a counteracting quality, his love of individual enterprise and glory might have converted a great king into a mere knight-errant.

"But from this error he was saved by the love of his country, directed by an admirable judgment, an unshaken perseverance, and a vein of strong good sense. It is here, although some may think it the homeliest, that we are to find assuredly the brightest part of the character of the King. It is these qualities which are especially conspicuous in his war for the liberty of Scotland. They enabled him to follow out his plans through many a tedious year with undeviating energy; to bear reverses, to calculate his means, to wait for his opportunities, and to concentrate his whole strength upon one great point, till it was gained and secured to his country for ever. Brilliant military talent and consummate bravery have often been found amongst men, and proved far more of a curse than a blessing; but rarely indeed shall we discover them united to so excellent a judgment, controlled by such per-

fect disinterestedness, and employed for so sacred an end. There is but one instance on record where he seems to have thought more of himself than of his people, and even this, though rash, was heroic."—Vol. i., p. 416.

The author alludes to Bruce's personal encounter with the English knight, Sir Henry de Bohun, whom he slew in single combat the afternoon before the battle of Bannockburn. But considering the period, the crisis, and circumstances, we incline to think even this venturous risk was justified in point of discretion. The King was about to fight a pitched battle for the safety of his crown and his country; and, besides that the ideas of chivalry rendered it dishonourable to shun the encounter of a single cavalier, his retreat before Bohun must have taken much from the mettle of the Scottish troops and added to that of the enemy; while his engaging in personal conflict, with the success which his habit of arms must have rendered probable, was generally received as a splendid omen of next day's success.

The second volume of Mr Tytler's history leads us through the reign of David II., the son of Robert, who, in all but courage, proved so unequal to his father. The leaders of the nations were again changed; and while Edward III. headed the English, and the Scots were guided by the rude and ignorant chieftains who succeeded Bruce, the defeats of the latter nation proved wellnigh as numerous as those which Longshanks had inflicted on them at Berwick, Falkirk, &c.; and the liberties of the country were again brought to the brink of

peril. This volume, like the former, is full of critical turns of fortune, military adventure, feudal pageantry, and display of personal character, though the heroes called into action are of a strain inferior to Bruce and Wallace. The appendix, which occupies more than half the volume, contains three interesting essays on the general appearance of Scotland, its early agriculture, the distinct races by which the kingdom was inhabited, the state of the various orders of society, &c. &c.,—comprehending an elaborate enquiry into the ancient state of the country,—from which we have already made large extracts.

Before concluding this article, we have the delicate task of comparing the work of Mr Tytler with that of the most esteemed of his predecessors, to whose unwearied exertions we owe the first gleam of rational light on a history peculiarly clouded by fiction. The circumstances under which that venerable person wrote, were such as might well have obstructed the studies of a man of less fortitude, or disgusted one of more ambition. His nation had been long lulled to sleep with dreams of their own antiquity and greatness, with which so many persons united their private pretensions to illustrious descent, that to dispel them was a very unpopular task; and those who could not maintain against evidence the figments which had been the Dalilahs of their imagination, were not the less displeased with the author who had broken the spell. Neither were authorities so easily referred to in those days as in the present. The Record Office at Edinburgh

has been arranged in a very different manner, and its treasures rendered in every respect more accessible. The circle of readers being expanded to an incredible extent, the interest excited by historical labour is incalculably deeper than in 1776;—at which time there existed in England a special apathy concerning Scottish history—while in the narrow circle of Scotland itself, there was, among the older persons at least, a predetermination to remain satisfied with their *Mumpsimus*, and to give no attention to any new reading. They had Buchanan and Boethius, and they neither wanted nor were willing to receive better authorities. Lord Hailes, a man of rank and fortune, did not need the emoluments of publication; and it was well for his fame and for posterity that he was independent of them. But these circumstances did not tend to the popularity of his work; for, in order to advance the sale of almost any book, it is necessary that *the trade* (to speak technically) shall have some capital invested in it. He, therefore, wrought upon his historical collections, like Ulysses upon his bark in the island of Calypso, to leave land upon his lonely voyage unanimated by any plaudits, and not expecting any when he should return—the whole object of his enterprise a search after truth—his only reward the mental satisfaction of having discovered it. Finally, he published upon disputed points, the very debateable land of Scottish history; before he could draw up his forces, he was uniformly obliged to clear the ground of the enemy. His work was therefore of a controversial character;

and though many portions indicate considerable powers of eloquence, yet the necessity of frequent digressions, and of recording insulated and sometimes unconnected facts, induced him to adopt the humble title of Annals, instead of announcing a History.

Such being the origin and character of those modest labours, Mr Tytler had, unquestionably, a fair and open right to fill up the fragments which Hailes has left unfinished—to be concise where he was prolix—to receive as proved that which his lordship was under the necessity of supporting by evidence;—and these united circumstances imply great advantage. But the possession of such superiority ought to induce the modern historian to mark, with deference and courtesy, the points on which he differs from, and presumes to correct, the authority of his predecessor. Too intent upon his subject, too eager to display that Lord Hailes had left him something to do, it seems to us that this young gentleman has committed an error of taste in pointing out the mistakes of the venerable annalist with something less than liberality, candour, and good-humour. We have heard some readers, who profess to be acquainted with the long-breathed nature of a Caledonian feud, refer this to a literary quarrel of some standing, in which the grandfather of Mr Patrick Fraser Tytler, the "revered defender of the beauteous Stuart," was engaged with Lord Hailes. This, we dare aver, is an idle imputation; but that such an idea has been started, ought to induce Mr Tytler, in future

editions, to soften the severity of his remarks where Lord Hailes is concerned. This is the more necessary, as, allowing that several of them are just and judicious corrections, yet these, for the most part, occur in matters of little moment; while there are more in which the parties have not been fairly at issue, and the modern seems disposed to assume the credit of a victory where no battle has been fought. We will mention an instance or two.

Lord Hailes, in speaking of the battle of Falkirk, lost by Wallace, has taken some pains to confute a popular tale. It is said by every historian, from Fordun to Abercrombie, that this battle was lost by disputes and treacherous desertions among the Scottish leaders; that Wallace, Stewart, and Comyn quarrelled about the honour of leading the van; how Comyn compared Wallace to an owl in borrowed feathers; how Comyn treacherously withdrew with ten thousand men; how Wallace followed his example, out of resentment against Stewart; and how Stewart, in consequence of this double defection, was overpowered and cut to pieces. Now, Lord Hailes having observed that there was scarce one of the old writers who had not produced an invective against Comyn, an apology for Wallace, or a lamentation over the deserted Stewart, proceeds to show that the great superiority of the English cavalry over that of Wallace might have furnished *one* sufficient cause for the retreat of the Scottish men-at-arms. Mr Tytler takes up this passage, as if Hailes's object had been to exculpate Comyn and the other leaders

from the charge of dissension among themselves, or treachery to their country. According to his statement, it appears to be certain that the Scottish men-at-arms fled of set purpose; he proves, by a circumstance omitted by Lord Hailes, that two of the Scottish earls were in communication with Edward, and upbraids Lord Hailes as "sneering at the account of the Scottish historians as trash." After observing that Lord Hailes had fully admitted the contests and discontent which existed in the Scottish councils, he remarks, "that why that which is given as authentic history in March, becomes trash in July, is not easily explained."

Now, we conceive that, in all this reasoning Lord Hailes's argument is stated too high. He does not, he could not, deny the existence of dissensions and possible treachery among the Scottish nobility, but what he does deny and dismiss as trash, is a long series of fictions, which Mr Tytler certainly does not regard as truths, since he has excluded them from his own animated account of the battle. Lord Hailes denies that we can know any thing of what passed in the Scottish councils, or that the application of the apologue of the owl has been accurately reported. Especially he denies that Comyn deserted with TEN thousand men, and that Wallace, with a like force, stood aloof and did not fight. Surely it may be very true, that there existed dissensions amongst the Scottish nobility in March, and yet that not one of those things, which are asserted to have happened in July, actually took place. In fact, the story, confuted by Lord Hailes,

is totally inconsistent with Mr T.'s own narrative. Stewart did not lead the vanguard, for the archers of the forest of Selkirk, whom he commanded, were drawn up in the intervals of the four *echellons* or phalanxes of spearmen, which contained the strength of the Scottish army. These phalanxes were commanded by Wallace, who addressed them as men upon whose valour the whole success of the day depended:—"I have brought you to the ring," he said, "dance as you can." The gallant manner in which these infantry supported the hopes of their leader, ought to have protected them from the foul and fabled imputation of deserting and betraying their vanguard. So far Lord Hailes is perfectly right, in destroying the web of fiction, which the historians before him had left undisturbed; and the only question which remains disputable seems to be the motive of the Scottish men-at-arms who, ONE thousand men in number, and commanded by Comyn, drew off the ground without splintering a lance. Lord Hailes imputes their retreat to conscious inferiority; Mr Tytler contends it was owing to treason; we are inclined to think that Comyn left the field partly from his quarrel with Wallace, but principally because it was a hopeless case to lead one thousand men against the half of the English cavalry (who numbered four thousand in all), and, moreover, under every disadvantage as to arms, equipments, and spirits. In short, to suppose Mr Tytler right, it is not necessary to condemn Lord Hailes, who, whether we call Comyn and his followers more treacherous or more timid,

has clearly the best of the controversy on every point.

The taking of Wallace is another matter on which Hailes is sharply assailed, and, as we think, without sufficient grounds. "The *popular* tradition (writes Lord H.) is, that Wallace was betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his familiar friend, by an act of domestic treason." Now, Lord Hailes does not deny, what is stated by every historian, and proved by documents, that Sir John Monteith, a Scottish man of rank in the English interest, a Juramentado, in the modern phrase, and governor of Dunbarton castle, was the person by whom the champion of Scotland was delivered to the English. This, we repeat, is a fact admitted by Lord Hailes. But he denies that part of the tradition which affirmed that Wallace was connected with Monteith by "any intercourse of friendship or familiarity." So, indeed, it is said by Blind Harry, whom every historian copies, yet whom no historian, save Sir Robert Sibbald, will venture to quote. But, notwithstanding the authority of this romantic writer, it is most improbable that Wallace should have voluntarily put himself in the power of a man whom he knew to be in an office of distinguished trust under Edward. Again, Lord Hailes complains, "My apology for Monteith has been received with wonderful disapprobation by many readers, for it contradicts vulgar traditions, and that most respectable authority, Blind Harry." . . . "Those who condemn Sir John Monteith ought to condemn him for having acknowledged the

government of Edward, and for having accepted an office of trust under him, not for having discharged the duties of that office." Finally, Lord Hailes shows, from the coincidence of a passage in Arnold Blair's relations, with a curious passage in Langtoft's chronicles, that Wallace was not, properly speaking, betrayed *by* Sir John Monteith, in whom he reposed no trust, but that he was betrayed to him, by the agency of a servant, called Jack Short, who, in consequence of ill-will conceived against his master, gave such information as enabled Sir John to take Wallace prisoner near Glasgow.

On these passages Mr Tytler rears the following charge:—

> "I have elsewhere observed that Lord Hailes is fond of displaying his ingenuity in white-washing dubious characters, and that, with an appearance of hypercritical accuracy, in his remarks upon other historians, he is often glaringly inaccurate himself. His note upon Sir John Menteith is an instance of this. He represents the fact, that his friend Menteith betrayed Wallace to the English, as founded upon popular tradition—and the romance of Blind Harry, Wallace's rhyming biographer."—Vol. i. p. 443.

Mr Tytler proceeds to urge the various authorities, which, in addition to that of Blind Harry, affirm that Monteith was the captor of Wallace. But this is no fair statement of the question. Lord Hailes has repeatedly stated the same fact, and has only apologized for the apostate chieftain, so far as to show that Sir John betrayed no confidence reposed by Wallace in him personally. It may be very wrong to whitewash dubious characters; but, on the other hand, the very devil may be painted

blacker than he is; and the difference is something between describing a man as a betrayer of his country, an adherent to the interest of her enemies, and a persecutor of her martyrs, and presenting him as, at the same time, the familiar and trusted friend of the hero whom he delivered to the vengeance of foreigners. Mr Tytler is a Scottish lawyer, and well knows the difference betwixt murder and murder under trust.

After all, we are far from thinking Sir John Monteith suffers much injustice in the common relation. He who employs domestic treason cannot complain if, being the instigator, he is also represented as the chief perpetrator of the villany; nor need it be thought wonderful if, in course of time, the mere agent shall be forgotten, and the sum total of infamy attached to the name of him who was principal in the conspiracy. Few Scottish men, we suspect, having read the palliatives offered for Monteith, will be the less inclined to join in the hearty execration against him and his master, Edward, and the benediction on the memory of Wallace, with which Arnold Blair, the military chaplain of that heroic person, closes his Relations. *Damnandus sit dies nativitatis Joannis de Monteith, et excipiatur nomen suum ex libro vitæ; maledictus sit in eternum inhumanus iste tyrannus; cum nobilis ille Scotorum ductor pro suæ virtutis præmio vitam æternam habebit in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*

The third and last instance of a seeming desire to cavil with Lord Hailes, which we shall mention,

occurs in Mr Tytler's account of the manner in which the Countess of Buchan was confined by Edward I. for having acted a conspicuous part at the coronation of Robert Bruce in 1305. This lady, a personal object of Edward's spleen, was lodged (says Matthew of Westminster) in a species of cage, composed of wooden and iron bars, and established in one of the towers of the castle of Berwick. From this description, some authors, adopting too strictly the idea of a cage, have represented it as hung over the walls in such a way as birdcages are now suspended, thus exposing the unfortunate countess to the scorn and ridicule of all passengers. On this point, Lord Hailes has hesitated, and producing the order for the lady's confinement, has argued that the mode of providing for her rigid imprisonment is inconsistent with the story of Matthew of Westminster. Mr Tytler lays lance in rest in behalf of the old chronicler.

"Lord Hailes," he says, "observes, that 'to those who have no notion of any cage but one for a parrot, or a squirrel, hung out at a window, he despairs of rendering this mandate intelligible.' I know not what called forth this peevish remark, but any one who has noticed the turrets of the ancient feudal castles, which hang like crowns, or cages, on the outside of the walls, and within one of which the countess's cage was to be constructed, will be at no loss to understand the tyrannical directions of Edward, and the passage of Matthew of Westminster." —Vol. i. p. 451.

Now the question here disputed seems to rest on the interpretation which shall be put on Matthew's phrase that the lady's crib was so constructed and so placed on the wall, *ut possent eam transeuntes conspicere*. If this is to be received as only mean-

ing that the passengers should be rendered aware, by seeing this particular cabin, that the countess was lodged in disgraceful captivity, we can easily conceive it was so. But then there is no room to challenge Lord Hailes's explanation. If, on the contrary, we must necessarily receive the phrase in its literal sense, as implying that the Countess of Buchan was put in an open cage or crib, like one of those in which wild beasts are shown, pervious to the eyes of all men, who were to behold her sleeping or waking, at meals and at toilette, and equally accessible to every blast of heaven—we suspect that if such penance was ever inflicted, the very effects of the climate would prevent it from lasting long. We will take a crowned and Gothic steeple well known to Mr Tytler (that of Saint Giles, in Edinburgh), and ask how long any living thing, except, perhaps, a jackdaw, could exist among the knops and pinnacles of the flinty coronet. Unless, however, we back Matthew of Westminster to this extent, there is no difference that we can trace betwixt him and Lord Hailes. Both of them must have known that, as there is even in the lowest depth a deeper still, so every ancient prison contained interior places of confinement, called *cages*, strongly constructed with bars of wood and iron, to secure turbulent captives, or augment the durance of those to whom it was determined to use severity. Louis XI.'s castle of Loches was furnished with several such cages, of new and terrible construction. There was one, also, in the jail of Edinburgh—the old " Heart of

Mac-Lucas"—which, when that building was pulled down, was purchased by the magistrates of a neighbouring town, and is perhaps still in being. The cage of the common was probably of the same nature, but placed in a conspicuous situation, that the view, not merely of her person, but of the cell in which she was immured, might call to frequent remembrance her offence and her punishment. The misapprehension of the technical term seems to have led to the idea that the cell resembled a bird-cage, and was suspended over a wall.

We willingly quit the task of censure for that of praise, and must render the justice to Mr Tytler, that occasionally he has been able to correct errors and supply gaps in his predecessor's Annals. Although he appears to us to have failed in his attempt to diminish the authority due to Lord Hailes in the instances we have alluded to, we think others occur, in which the venerable author, professionally accustomed to give judgment only in accordance to facts fully proved, has been rather sceptical on subjects where, if the historian is to decide at all, he must decide on such materials as tradition affords him. This, sometimes the worst of evidence, is in other cases the best, and it is, in *them*, as great an error to throw it aside without consideration as it can ever be to rely on it with credulity.

We must add, that the plan and extent of Mr Tytler's history, and the advantage which he possesses in good taste, and a simple, manly, and intelligible strain of writing, enable him to adorn his pages with a great many light yet interesting

touches, which Lord Hailes, being confined to the dry task of composing annals, was compelled to omit. It is by such judicious additions and improvements that modern authors should endeavour to establish a superiority over those who may, indeed, have given us cause of regret, but cannot have intended any offence, when *nostra ante nos dixerunt.*

Amongst other objects of new and curious interest, we understand that Volume III. of Mr Tytler's history will contain some singular evidence concerning the fate of Richard the Second, who (or some one personating him) appears to have resided in Scotland ten years after the period commonly assigned in the English annals as that of his death.

It is with great pleasure we anticipate a speedy continuation of this work. Pinkerton, whose book is the only modern one treating of the history of Scotland till the reign of Mary, leaves far richer gleanings behind him than the accurate Lord Hailes. An excellent scholar he was, yet deficient in actual local knowledge. He did not recognise, for example, in the "Castle of Cowthele," the baronial fortress of the Somervilles, called Cowdailly, although, we believe, he was educated, if not born, within a few miles of that place. He sought the maps of Pont and Bleau in vain for the parish of Bowden, which any almanack would have pointed out; and, long resident in England and foreign countries, he was singularly inexpert in the Lowland Scottish tongue. Selected by

Grimm is to us ancestor in explaining the old manners of England, in regard the migration by marching the steps of the authors of the empire, which is the reason became learn, moral and observe. Besides although Mr Pinkerton collected many valuable materials from the Paper-office, yet that valuable depository of original letters is far from exhausted; and the unwearied labours of Mr Deputy-Keeper Thomson have thrown interesting light on the reigns of the Second and Third Jameses. The immense stores collected by the Antiquarian Commissioners have also been added to the materials for Scottish history, within the last twenty years; we hope, therefore, Mr Tytler, young, ardent, and competent to the task, will not delay to prosecute it with the same spirit which he has hitherto displayed. And so we bid him God's speed upon his journey—

> "For long, though pleasing, is the way,
> And life, alas! allows but an ill winter's day."[1]

[1] [Since this article was written, Mr Tytler has published three volumes more, bringing down the History of Scotland to the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, in 1545; in regard to that event, his researches in the State Paper-office have set to rest a point of controversy among former historians. (See note, "Tales of a Grandfather," in Volume xxiii. of this series). Mr Tytler is still engaged in his laborious and important undertaking.]

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occurs in Mr Tytler's account of the manner in which the Countess of Buchan was confined by Edward I. for having acted a conspicuous part at the coronation of Robert Bruce in 1306. This lady, a personal object of Edward's spleen, was lodged (says Matthew of Westminster) in a species of cage, composed of wooden and iron bars, and established in one of the towers of the castle of Berwick. From this description, some authors, adopting too strictly the idea of a cage, have represented it as hung over the walls in such a way as birdcages are now suspended, thus exposing the unfortunate countess to the scorn and ridicule of all passengers. On this point, Lord Hailes has hesitated, and producing the order for the lady's confinement, has argued that the mode of providing for her rigid imprisonment is inconsistent with the story of Matthew of Westminster. Mr Tytler lays lance in rest in behalf of the old chronicler.

"Lord Hailes," he says, "observes, that 'to those who have no notion of any cage but one for a parrot, or a squirrel, hung out at a window, he despairs of rendering this mandate intelligible.' I know not what called forth this peevish remark, but any one who has noticed the turrets of the ancient feudal castles, which hang like crowns, or cages, on the outside of the walls, and within one of which the countess's cage was to be constructed, will be at no loss to understand the tyrannical directions of Edward, and the passage of Matthew of Westminster." —Vol. i. p. 451.

Now the question here disputed seems to rest on the interpretation which shall be put on Matthew's phrase that the lady's crib was so constructed and so placed on the wall, *ut possent eam transeuntes conspicere.* If this is to be received as only mean-

ing that the passengers should be rendered aware, by seeing this particular cabin, that the countess was lodged in disgraceful captivity, we can easily conceive it was so. But then there is no room to challenge Lord Hailes's explanation. If, on the contrary, we must necessarily receive the phrase in its literal sense, as implying that the Countess of Buchan was put in an open cage or crib, like one of those in which wild beasts are shown, pervious to the eyes of all men, who were to behold her sleeping or waking, at meals and at toilette, and equally accessible to every blast of heaven—we suspect that if such penance was ever inflicted, the very effects of the climate would prevent it from lasting long. We will take a crowned and Gothic steeple well known to Mr Tytler (that of Saint Giles, in Edinburgh), and ask how long any living thing, except, perhaps, a jackdaw, could exist among the knops and pinnacles of the flinty coronet. Unless, however, we back Matthew of Westminster to this extent, there is no difference that we can trace betwixt him and Lord Hailes. Both of them must have known that, as there is even in the lowest depth a deeper still, so every ancient prison contained interior places of confinement, called *cages*, strongly constructed with bars of wood and iron, to secure turbulent captives, or augment the durance of those to whom it was determined to use severity. Louis XI.'s castle of Loches was furnished with several such cages, of new and terrible construction. There was one, also, in the jail of Edinburgh—the old " Heart of

Mid-Lothian"—which, when that building was pulled down, was purchased by the magistrates of a neighbouring town, and is, perhaps, still in being. The cage of the countess was probably of the same nature, but placed in a conspicuous situation, that the view, not, surely, of her person, but of the cell in which she was immured, might call to frequent remembrance her offence and her punishment. The misapprehension of the technical term seems to have led to the idea that the cell resembled a bird-cage, and was suspended over a wall.

We willingly quit the task of censure for that of praise, and must render the justice to Mr Tytler, that occasionally he has been able to correct errors and supply gaps in his predecessor's Annals. Although he appears to us to have failed in his attempt to diminish the authority due to Lord Hailes in the instances we have alluded to, we think others occur, in which the venerable author, professionally accustomed to give judgment only in accordance to facts fully proved, has been rather sceptical on subjects where, if the historian is to decide at all, he must decide on such materials as tradition affords him. This, sometimes the worst of evidence, is in other cases the best, and it is, in *them*, as great an error to throw it aside without consideration as it can ever be to rely on it with credulity.

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Amongst other objects of new and curious interest, we understand that Volume III. of Mr Tytler's history will contain some singular evidence concerning the fate of Richard the Second, who (or some one personating him) appears to have resided in Scotland ten years after the period commonly assigned in the English annals as that of his death.

It is with great pleasure we anticipate a speedy continuation of this work. Pinkerton, whose book is the only modern one treating of the history of Scotland till the reign of Mary, leaves far richer gleanings behind him than the accurate Lord Hailes. An excellent scholar he was, yet deficient in actual local knowledge. He did not recognise, for example, in the "Castle of Cowthele," the baronial fortress of the Somervilles, called Cowdailly, although, we believe, he was educated, if not born, within a few miles of that place. He sought the maps of Pont and Bleau in vain for the parish of Bowden, which any almanack would have pointed out; and, long resident in England and foreign countries, he was singularly inexpert in the Lowland Scottish tongue. Selected by

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alleged that he made a Jewish bargain with the great poet. The circumstances are shameful, but the shame must rest with the age—not with the bookseller.

It is not to be dreamed that the caution of the present trade has excluded from the public any volumes worthy to be named in the same day with the divine poem to which the wicket of Samuel Simmons's shop so reluctantly opened. On the contrary, our own observations authorize us to say, that the circumstances of unpopularity are very few which will preclude the possibility of publication on the part of any author, who exhibits even the most moderate chance of success. There are always booksellers enough, though, perhaps, not the most respectable, who are willing to encounter the risk of placing their names in the imprint of works the most extravagant and the most hazardous, under the idea that their very extravagance and singularity may have a chance of captivating the public favour; and we cannot but add, that, considering the quality of many volumes which yearly find their way to the press, we are rather puzzled to conjecture what must be the nature of those which cannot in some corner find a patronising bookseller. Nevertheless, there are undoubtedly persons to whose solicitations *the trade* are totally obdurate; and we well remember, that during the year of projects, what seemed to us the most inauspicious of all its brood was the scheme of a proposed joint-stock company, intended to redress the wrongs of those authors who could not find their way to the

public by the legitimate channel of Paternoster Row, or the equally patent north-west passage of Albemarle Street. What would have been the consequences of this project, had it been carried into execution, may be easily guessed. The press employed by such a company would have had little cause to complain of want of custom, and the trunk-makers and pastrycooks would have had cheaper bargains of waste paper than have been yet known in the vicinity of Grub Street.

The ancient mode of relief in such cases, where the booksellers were slow in reposing faith in the good works of their authors, was wont to be the intervention of subscription. But although many persons, highly deserving better fortune, have been obliged to have recourse to a mode of publication inferring too much personal solicitation to be agreeable to a generous mind, yet it has become now so infrequent, that, as a means of facilitating the access of authors to the world, it may be almost left out of consideration.

There are still, however, a certain class of works interesting to a certain class of readers, which cannot, in the usual mode of publication, find their way to the press. We allude to the numerous class of what the public at large call mere *curiosities*. Such are, ancient poems, ancient chronicles, ancient legends, and the proceedings in ancient law cases; antiquities in general, whether in history, law, literature, drama, or polemics. Tracts connected with most of these curious topics lie hidden in rare manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, large and unwieldy

collections, broadsides and stall or cheap copies, placed either so far above the eye of the common observer, as to be out of his sight, or so much beneath it as to be overlooked. Such morsels of literature, mere baubles in the estimation of the multitude, bear yet an intrinsic value of their own, and a large or rather an extravagant one; but this is only in the little world of the bibliomaniacs, and the particular knot of booksellers who devote themselves to supply these gentlemen's hobby-horses with forage, or, in other words, to fill their shelves with the

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> (CRABBE),

which are the Dalilahs of their imagination. These pursuits have no charms for the world at large; and, passing over a very few splendid exceptions, the volumes in which such things have been reproduced to the public have met with no encouraging reception. Such reprints, in fact, do not exactly suit the humour of either class of purchasers; they are too easy of acquisition to have much merit in the eye of the professed book collector; while the antiquity of the orthography, and, to speak fairly, the slender proportion which they in most cases contain of what is truly valuable or instructive, render them caviare to the common purchaser. The many repositories of antique tracts in verse and prose, valuable state papers, and collections relating to the history of the country, both in arts and arms, which may at this hour be had at a rate hardly sufficient to cover the expense of the printing, indi-

cate plainly what bad subjects of speculation even the best of this class must have proved to the publishers. We need only mention the highly meritorious undertaking of the London booksellers for the republication of the ancient English chronicles, comprehending Hollinshed, Stowe, Grafton, Lord Berners' *Froissart*, &c. &c., forming a curious and most valuable selection of the materials on which English history is founded, since sold at a considerable reduction of price. David Macpherson's edition of *Winton's Chronicles of Scotland*, put forth in a manner which might have been a model for every publication of the kind, was also for several years sold at a greatly abated price. The *Restituta* and *Archaica*, published in a splendid form by those eminent antiquaries, Sir Egerton Brydges and Mr Park, met with even less favour in the market. The large collection, called "Thurlow's State Papers," containing the most authentic materials respecting the period of the great Civil War and of Cromwell's domination, was not long since, and perhaps still is, to be purchased at something little higher than the price of waste paper.

It is true—*habent et sua fata libelli*—that such works have their phases, and become valuable as they grow scarce in the market, and get dispersed in libraries, from which they rarely return into public sale In such case, they become at length high priced,—because they have the merit of curiosity attached to them. Before such a rise, however, takes place, the original adventurers have usually lost all concern with the books, which have

been probably sold off to the trade in the shape of *remainders*, by which is well understood that species of a bookseller's property which is the residuum of his stock, and which he parts with for what he can get. This fate, which seems usually, though not inevitably or constantly, attendant upon the reprints of ancient, rare, and curious publications, seems to exclude them, in a great measure, from the adventures of booksellers, who, if they are to publish at all, must necessarily do so under the expectation of a reasonable profit. Nor has the method of subscription been of late years found applicable to works of this nature, though the system of the present day is, in a certain degree, a modification of that plan.

A very few words upon the pursuits of that class of persons usually called bibliomaniacs or book collectors, may explain the nature and use of the private associations which we now allude to. This species of literary amusement, for which there have been men in all ages who have had a passion, has its source in the most noble and generous qualities, a love of literature, a reverence for the earliest indications of its influence, a desire to trace its progress from the very first germ of its appearance in a nation, until it influences, ornaments, and overshadows it. All that can separate man from the mere money-getting herd of mortals, and fix his attention upon science, philosophy, and letters, may be accounted motives which have originally determined the peculiar department of the book-collector. But although these are the origin of this pecu-

liar taste, it is liable unquestionably, like other favourite tastes and habits, to be driven to excess —to exhibit that tendency to ultraism, that *aliquid inane*, which merits just ridicule.

Lucian has left us a severe satire upon the ignorant collector, who abused his wealth by squandering it upon manuscripts which he could not read, or at any rate, was incapable of understanding. "You resemble," says he, "those unskilful physicians who bestow large sums of money in making surgical instruments of silver, tipping them with gold, and depositing them in caskets made of ivory, while the owners all along are totally ignorant of the art of using the instruments which they ornament with so much pains." Such extravagance of absurdity is rarer perhaps in our day, than it was in that of Lucian; but no doubt it still sometimes occurs that individuals, enrolled high in the list of collectors are more distinguished for knowing the mere technical circumstances which warrant the signature of *rarissimus*, than for profound intimacy with the contents of the volume itself, or its intrinsic value, if it happens to have any. This species of ridicule, however, attaches to all not necessary pursuits, when too enthusiastically and exclusively followed. The *Virtuoso* in pictures, for example, sets out at first upon the idea of acquiring pieces exhibiting the beauty and compass of his favourite art; but, after persevering for some time in this natural and reasonable object, he begins to find it necessary to acquire knowledge of a thousand petty circumstances of a mechanical nature, with respect to great

painters, in order to avoid imposition in the purchase of what are put up to sale as their works. Hence he is gradually seduced from the pursuit of what is beautiful and striking in itself, to a hunt after minutiæ which possess in themselves at best but very trifling interest. In like manner, even those gentlemen who are distinguished for their attention to agriculture, the plainest, one would suppose, of studies, and the least exposed to be influenced by mere whims and vagaries, are nevertheless subject to the gradual invasions of caprice, which misdirect their pursuits, force them from their proper bias, and set all upon some little arbitrary rules which have no foundation either in reason or in common sense, and in which the most *knowing* may possess little real or useful *knowledge*. When this perversion is in full sway, the prize of the agricultural society is no longer bestowed upon the cow which gives best to the dairy, but upon some animal of a far-famed descent; some "cow with a crumpled horn," to which fancy and prejudice have ascribed certain qualities which are supposed to prove that she is descended from the *right breed*.

The book-collectors, like other enthusiasts, have their own marks and Shibboleths, by which they exhibit their proficiency—proving, after Abhorson's fashion, their art to be a *mystery*. These little mechanical particulars of a titlepage or a colophon are of no esteem in themselves, when they cease to be like "the mason's word;" but whilst they remain the secret rule and direction of

the few adepts, it is far otherwise. Who can deny that it is useful and noble to collect books for the sake of the knowledge which they contain,—to trace with accuracy what authors are necessary to complete a collection in any department of literature; when and by whom its mysteries were first investigated; how, and in what manner, they were explained and brought to light? But, then, it is impossible to divide this entirely from the information respecting editions of works, their dates, and form, and the minutiæ of their outward appearance: and so it frequently happens that the necessary adjunct comes gradually to be preferred to the great end itself. We can easily sympathize with the student who prefers the *editio princeps* of a classic, that he may compare it with those which have followed—still more with another who pays a high price to obtain a copy of some work of less fortune than merit, which has been birth-strangled at its entrance into the world, and deserves to be rescued from the state of oblivion into which it has fallen. We do not much wonder at the preference which Cracherode, and such amateurs, have given to peculiarities of binding, and understand how the love of a book, as of a child, should extend itself, in an amateur, to the reform of its outward dress. Nay, we can make allowance, as far as common sense will admit, for the preference given to *clean* copies, *tall* copies, *large paper* copies, and the other varieties of outward appearance, though sometimes resting on qualities little better than chimerical. There is a point,

however, at which our indulgence and sympathy must pause; we cannot, for instance, learn to prize what our always-entertaining friend, Dr Dibdin, calls "the shaggy honours of an uncut copy,"—a copy which, of course, must suffer materially in its value so soon as it is put to the real purpose of being read; nor can we see what advantage an old edition, presenting in many instances inconveniences and errors peculiar to itself, has over a well-printed, accurate copy of the modern press; and we think that, when pushed to this extremity, the taste which collectors display resembles very much that of

> ——— "the idle dreamer,
> Who leaves the pye to gnaw the streamer."

After all, however, many, and most respectable persons, have been distinguished for their expertness in turning and winding this peculiar species of hobby-horse. It is connected with much which is valuable in literature; and, among some Quixotic extravagances, has a tendency to promote much that is important and useful. And, for example, not the least important or the least useful of the consequences of the bibliomania is now before us in these clubs of book-collectors—to which alone we are indebted for the printing of so many manuscripts which might have remained long in obscurity, and the still more numerous reprints of ancient tracts, almost equal to manuscripts in rarity. The productions of these societies now form a particular class of books, if not of literature, and, in tracing their origin, we willingly suffer ourselves

to be recalled towards recollections dear to our youth, and to the memory of the individual whose grave this peculiar species of *imprimatur* seemed first to garland.

John, third Duke of Roxburghe, who was born in 1740, and died in 1804, was a nobleman whose lofty presence and felicitous address recalled the ideas of a court in which Lord Chesterfield might have acted as master of ceremonies. Youthful misfortunes, of a kind against which neither rank nor wealth possess a talisman, had cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and given to one so splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society that degree of reserved melancholy which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gaiety. His court life was limited to the attendance required of him by his duty as groom of the stole, an office which he was induced to retain by his personal friendship with King George III.,— a tie of rare occurrence between prince and subject. Silvan amusements occupied the more active part of his life when in Scotland, and in book collecting, while residing in London, he displayed a degree of patience which has rarely been equalled, and never excelled. The assistance of Mr George Nichol, bookseller to his Majesty, was as serviceable to the duke as to the celebrated library of George III., so liberally bestowed by George IV. upon the British Museum. It could hardly be said whether the Duke of Roxburghe's assiduity and eagerness were most remarkable, when he lay for hours

together, though the snow was falling at the time, by some lonely spring in the Cheviot hills, where he expected the precarious chance of shooting a wild-goose, when the dawning should break; or when he toiled for hours, nay, for days, collating and verifying his edition of the Black Acts, or Caxton's Boke of Troy. This latter taste, we have heard, was inspired by an incident to which his grace had been witness while his father was alive. It is in such cases pleasing to trace that species of impression in youth which stamps the leading point of character on the mind in advanced age; and we may therefore give the anecdote. It seems that Lord Oxford and Lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of Robert, the second Duke of Roxburghe, when their conversation chanced to turn upon the *editio princeps* of Boccaccio, printed at Venice, in 1471, and so rare that its very existence was doubted of. The duke was himself no collector, but it happened that a copy of this very book had passed under his eye, and been offered to him for sale at a hundred guineas, then thought an immense price. It was, therefore, with complete assurance that he undertook to produce to the connoisseurs a copy of the treasure in question, and he did so, at the time appointed, with no small triumph. His son, then Marquis of Beaumont, who never forgot the little scene upon this occasion, used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions,

and which rendered him one of the most assiduous and judicious collectors that ever formed a sumptuous library.

At the death of this accomplished person, his noble collection, after the train of a long litigation, was at length brought to auction, attracting the greatest attention, and bringing the highest prices of any book sale that had ever been heard of in Britain. The number of noblemen and gentlemen, distinguished by their taste for this species of literature, who assembled there from day to day, recorded the proceedings of each morning's sale, and lamented or boasted the event of the competition, was unexampled; and, in short, the concourse of attendants terminated in the formation of a society of about thirty amateurs, having the learned and amiable Earl Spencer at their head, who agreed to constitute a club, which should have for its object of union the common love of rare and curious volumes, and should be distinguished by the name of that nobleman, at the dispersion of whose library the institution had taken rise, and who had been personally known to most of the members. We are not sure whether the publication of rare tracts was an original object of their friendly reunion, or, if it was not, how or when it came to be ingrafted thereupon. Early, however, after the establishment of the Roxburghe Club, it became one of its rules that each member should present the society, at such time as he might find most convenient, with an edition of a curious manuscript, or the reprint of some ancient tract, the

selection being left at the pleasure of the individual himself. These books were to be printed in a handsome manner, and uniformly, and were to be distributed among the gentlemen of the club, with such overcopies, as they are technically termed (the regular edition being limited to the number of the club), as the member who acted as editor might choose to distribute among his own particular friends—regard, however, being always paid to preserving the rarity of the volume. In this respect the gentlemen of the Roxburghe Club displayed the consideration of old sportsmen, who, while they neglect no opportunity of acquiring game themselves, are not less anxious to preserve and keep up the breed for the benefit of others: neither was the effect on the public either useless or trivial. Such rare tracts as fell in the way of the members of this association, and were deemed worthy to be reprinted, would, at best, under other circumstances, have remained shut up within the wires of bookcases, which operate too often, according to Burke's pun, "as Locke upon the human understanding;" but sometimes they might have been entirely lost sight of, as in the various changes of human life, they chanced to pass into ignorant or indifferent hands. It is, indeed, equally well known and singular how many books of curiosity appear in the catalogues even of our own day, and must have been disposed of at the sales of remarkable collectors, which are now not known to exist, notwithstanding the watch which is kept upon their fate. Whereas, if the original of one of these re-

prints should disappear, its tenor is ascertained by the fidelity of the club copies; and whatever may be valuable in its contents is preserved by the book being multiplied by the number of at least thirty to one, and the chance of ultimate and total loss of the original diminished in the same proportion. Under this system the Roxburghe Club has proceeded and flourished for many years, and produced upwards of forty reprints of scarce and curious tracts, among which many are highly interesting, not only from their rarity but also their intrinsic merit. They fetch, whenever accident brings one of them into the market, a high price; and in the only instance where a complete set occurred, it was purchased at the considerable sum of one hundred and thirty pounds.

It has been said over and over again by those who feel, perhaps, a species of inferiority in being, by circumstances, excluded from a society which requires an easy fortune at least, if not opulence in its members, that there is something aristocratic in all this—that it constitutes an attempt to form a class divided from others, as skilful, and as ardent, at least, as themselves, in the pursuit of real knowledge—and in short, that the Roxburghe club has done more harm than good to literature.

We would wish to speak on this subject, as on things of more importance, without cant or affectation. We have already said that book-collecting, like most other separate and exclusive pursuits, especially such as are followed rather in sport than as a part of life's serious business, is apt to gather

about it a deal of Quixotic prejudice which may be harmlessly enough subjected to ridicule: nor are we prepared to say that the same sum of money which has been expended upon the Roxburghe books might not have been so bestowed, under judicious management, as to produce more important services to English literature. But that is not the question; for it is impossible to conceive any means by which the sums thus expended could have been levied out of the pockets of individuals for any other purpose than one which should please their own fancy, and should therefore possess some peculiar charms in their own eyes superior to what it exhibits to those of other, perhaps more impartial, judges. If, however, we were to weigh in the balance of common sense the various publications, which for various causes men give to the world, we should be disposed, on considering the general result, to speak far from disrespectfully of those of the bibliomaniacs. The Roxburghe books, though seldom in the market, are accessible at all times to any gentleman engaged in the study of our literary or historical antiquities: and in them he certainly will find a mass of out-of-the-way learning, such as he could not otherwise reach;—so much for the existing generation. They have, we may almost say, insured the preservation of their originals to all future ages. If word be still to be sent to them that their compilation is not well selected, the matter will enter into the category of the "knight's beard," and they may return for answer, they compiled their collection to please

themselves. We come back, therefore, to the point from which we set out, and to our opinion, that at a period when the restoration of ancient literature cannot be looked for among the booksellers,—not for want of their good wishes, but of such encouragement as a public alone can afford,—when we see how many hopeful attempts of this kind have been shipwrecked, although conducted with great spirit and only too much liberality,—we should think ourselves highly fortunate that a club of individuals have taken on themselves a duty which would not have otherwise been performed; and have very little title severely to question the nature of the services which they have actually rendered us at their own expense, and necessarily, therefore, according to their own pleasure.

The example of the Roxburghe Club has not been thrown away upon our neighbours of Scotland, which contains at least two societies adjusted upon the similar form of a convivial meeting, and to the same purpose, the preservation and revival of ancient literature, with national and pardonable partiality to that of Scotland in the first instance.

The eldest of these clubs was instituted in the year 1822, and consisted, at first, of a very few members,—gradually extended to one hundred, at which number we believe it has now made a final pause. They assume the name of the Bannatyne Club, from George Bannatyne, of whom little is known beyond that prodigious clerical effort which produced his present honours, and is, perhaps, one of the most singular instances of its kind which

the literature of any country exhibits. His labours as an amanuensis were undertaken during the time of pestilence, in the year 1568; the dread of infection had induced him to retire into solitude, and under such circumstances he had "the energy," says an account of him published by the club, "to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of the whole nation; and, undisturbed by the universal mourning for the dead, and general fears of the living, to devote himself to the task of collecting and recording the triumphs of human genius in the poetry of his age and country; thus, amid the wreck of all that was mortal, employing himself in preserving the lays by which immortality is at once given to others, and obtained for the writer himself. His task, he informs us, had its difficulties; for he complains that he had, even in his time, to contend with the disadvantage of copies old, maimed, and mutilated, and which long before our day must, but for this faithful transcriber, have perished entirely. The very labour of procuring the originals of the works which he transcribed must have been attended with much trouble and some risk, at a time when all the usual intercourse of life was suspended, and when we can conceive that even so simple a circumstance as the borrowing or lending a book of ballads was accompanied with some doubt and apprehension, and that probably the suspected volume was subjected to fumigation, and the other precautions practised in quarantine." The volume containing these labours is no less than eight hundred pages

in length, and very neatly and closely written, containing nearly all the ancient poetry of Scotland now known to exist.[1] The pious care of the members of the Bannatyne Club has been able to discover little more concerning "HIM of the unwearied pen," save that he was of gentle descent, lived, apparently without sustaining any inconvenience, through the troublesome times of Mary and the Regents, and died in quiet, after he had passed the age of at least three score. Some meagre records give an account of his transactions in business; for there was little of poetical or romantic about the personal adventures of this indefatigable amanuensis. In a word,

"He was, could he help it, a special attorney."

This Caledonian association, which boasts several names of distinction, both from rank and talent, has assumed rather a broader foundation than the parent

[1] While this article is passing our hands, we notice a singular intimation how easily such a depositary of national literature might be lost, even when under the most apparently secure custody. The Bannatyne Manuscript is deposited in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh; but from a little volume now before us, we find it was, with more liberality than discretion, permitted to pass into the possession of an individual in another country, in whose custody it remained for several months, and was conveyed from place to place both in Ireland and England. It is true, that the individual to whom it was intrusted, was the celebrated Dr Percy, Bishop of Dromore, for whose pursuits every degree of encouragement might justly be claimed. Still, we think, the modern Bannatynians will hear with something like misgiving of the dangerous travels of their great palladium. See the proofs of this in Letters of Thomas Percy, D. D., John Callander, David Herd, and others, to George Paton. Edinburgh, Stevenson, 1830,—a work curious in several respects.

society. The plan of the Roxburghe Club, we have already said, is restricted to the printing of single tracts, each executed at the expense of an individual member. It follows, as almost a necessary consequence, that no volume of considerable size has emanated from the Roxburghe Club; and its range has been thus far limited in point even of utility. The Bannatyne, we understand, holding the same system as the Roxburghe with respect to the ordinary species of club reprints, levies moreover a fund among its members of about L.500 a-year, expressly to be applied for the editing and printing of works of acknowledged importance, and likely to be attended with expense beyond the reasonable bounds of an individual gentleman's contribution. In this way either a member of the club, or a competent person under its patronage, superintends a particular volume or set of volumes. Upon these occasions, a very moderate number of copies are thrown off for general sale; and those belonging to the club are only distinguished from the others by being printed on the paper, and ornamented with the decorations, peculiar to the society. In this way, several curious and eminently valuable works have recently been given to the public, for the first time, or, at least, with a degree of accuracy and authenticity which they had never before attained. The contemporary history of King James VI. may be mentioned as an instance of the former kind; and as one of the latter, the inimitable Memoirs of Sir James Melville, which were not before known to exist in an authentic form, and which—

not inferior in interest, information, and amusement, to the very best memoirs of the period—have been at last presented in their genuine shape, from an undoubted original in the author's autograph.[1] The last we heard of this society was the interesting tidings that the young Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry was preparing for the Bannatyne Club an edition, at his own expense, of the Chartulary of Melrose, containing a series of ancient charters from the eleventh, we believe, to the fourteenth century, highly interesting to the students of Scottish history. We need hardly say what pleasure it affords us to see wealth and rank in the hands of a person inclined to devote himself so liberally to the patronage of the literature of his country. It must be seen that in thus stretching their hand towards the assistance of the general public, the members of the Bannatyne Club, in some degree, wave their own claims of individual distinction, and lessen the value of their private collections; but in so doing they serve the cause of historical literature most essentially, and to those who might upbraid them with their departure from the principles of monopoly otherwise so dear to book-collectors, we doubt not the thanes would reply, "We were Scotsmen before we were bibliomaniacs."

The plan of the Bannatyne has been adopted by another Society of the same country, termed the

[1] The autograph was found in the library of the Right Honourable Sir George Rose, and sent to press under that accomplished amateur's permission.

Maitland Club, from an eminent Scottish statesman and poet of the gifted family of Lethington. This club holds its meetings at Glasgow, and is chiefly supported by the gentlemen of the west of Scotland. It has not subsisted quite so long as the Bannatyne, but has already produced several volumes of much interest, edited and printed in a most creditable style; and the two associations have frequently, as in the instance of Mr Pitcairn's work now on our table, combined their exertions when the strength of one of them has been found unequal to an object peculiarly desirable. The history and success of these institutions must be dwelt on with pride in Scotland, and contemplated with admiration every where.

It will easily be believed, that the publication of a set of criminal records, tracing the administration of justice in a distracted country, and a remote and barbarous age, presents a thorny and unpromising field; and that the greatest external encouragement which could be proposed for a task so dreary and so difficult, would be inadequate to induce a person of suitable talents to undertake it, were it not that, fortunately, literary labour, like labour of other kinds, is, in some degree, its own reward. The hours may feel heavy, while they pass over the transcriber; but difficulties surmounted, and hardships endured, are recollections on which it is natural to dwell with pleasure; and the reflection that his enduring and patient toil has thrown a light upon the history of his country, which could

not have shone but for his self-denying exertions, cannot be worthless to Mr Pitcairn.

Of this collection, six parts, or fasciculi, are before us. They form as accurate a transcript as could be given of the early criminal records of Scotland. These curious documents are not, unfortunately, preserved with much accuracy, partly owing to the careless manner in which they were made up at the time—partly to the disturbed state of the country, vexed with foreign invasion, domestic discord, and war, public and private—and partly owing to portions of the national record having been subjected from time to time to the risk of suppression, in whole or in part, by one or other of the factions which chanced to be uppermost. The earlier part of the record is, therefore, very imperfect and meagre; and it is not until James VI. had attained his majority, that even a keen antiquary finds fully opened to him that singular view of jurisprudence, literature, and manners, which the announcement of such a work might have led him to anticipate. Mr Pitcairn, therefore, unwilling to begin his extracts at a point where they might have been peculiarly unsatisfactory, commences with certain important trials and law proceedings, which took place in the latter years of James's Scottish reign, from the year 1568 downwards. This course has the effect of rendering the first specimens of the work more interesting than they would otherwise have been; yet we cannot help being of opinion that there is a great disadvantage in any departure from regular

chronology, in the case of such a publication. We should have been disposed to echo the expostulation of the giant Molineau, "*Je vous prie, Bélier, mon ami, commencez par le commencement.*" However, receiving it as it is given to us, it cannot be denied that the present collection exhibits a most extraordinary picture of manners—one such as we hardly conceived could have existed even in the idea of the wildest romancers of the North; and which is rendered doubly curious by the remarkable opposition in which the practical disorder of the country stands to the theoretical accuracy of its contemporary law.

A few short rules will enable any reader to master the common difficulties of the northern dialect; and most words of technical import, or of unusual occurrence, are regularly explained at the bottom of the page. In truth, the Scottish dialect chiefly differs from the English, as being a shade nearer to the Anglo-Saxon; and he who studies it, with whatever other views, becomes necessarily better acquainted in his progress with the history and structure of his own tongue.

Mr Pitcairn's work is highly valuable in a philological point of view; but this is a secondary merit. It furnishes the historian with the means of settling, in many instances, disputed facts and dates, and ascertaining the fortune and fate of particular persons not elsewhere to be traced with any accuracy. The history of Scotland exhibits many incidents which make a deep and almost romantic impression on the mind, and regarding which we

find new and highly important information in these at last exhumated records. The whole history of Queen Mary, for example, too much and too darkly connected with the operations of the criminal courts of justice, may be traced there with a degree of certainty, far superior to what had previously been attained. Yet, how dark will it still remain! And how strange must it be considered, that the records of the actual process concerning Darnley's death, in the course of which Dalgliesh, Bothwell's servant, the alleged bearer of the famous casket of letters, appears as answering freely enough to all manner of interrogatories, bear no trace of a single question put to the man respecting the history, the appearance, or even the existence of such a casket. Another celebrated and contested piece of Scottish history, already illustrated by Mr Pitcairn's labours, is that dark and bloody chapter of the Gowrie conspiracy. The editor has given us the depositions of all the witnesses examined, and the result of all the judicial informations which were entered into for the purpose of illustrating this obscure conspiracy. Tragical stories, of a more domestic character, are, however, the very staple of these pages. In them many or most of our high-born and long-descended Scottish neighbours may find the misfortunes of their families recorded in ample detail. Few of note but will discover some ancestor that had either suffered or inflicted injuries in the course of deadly feud, or had some awkward affair with

justice on account of the gentlemanly crimes of slaughter or high treason.

Not the least curious of these *causes célèbres* is that of the Mures of Auchendrane—a case, indeed, which the editor pronounces the most remarkable in the whole range of the criminal annals of Scotland, or perhaps of any other country.

"In it (says the editor) are unfolded their most hidden transactions, and the secret springs of their most private and craftily-contrived plots, all of them leading to the perpetration of crimes so singular in atrocity, and of so deep a die, that one can hardly expect to meet with their parallel, even in the pages of romantic fiction. By the clew, now afforded, may be traced almost the secret thoughts of two of the most accomplished and finished adepts in crime—individuals who murdered by rule, and who carried forward their deadly schemes of ambition by means of a regularly connected chain of plots and stratagems, so artfully contrived, as to afford them every reasonable prospect of success—and even in the event of the entire failure of their plans, almost to ensure their escape from suspicion; at the least, in their estimation, to warrant their security against ultimate detection, and, consequently, exempt them from the penalty of capital punishment.

"Ambition and the lust of power appear to have been the immediate procuring causes of all the crimes in which these infatuated men were involved. Theirs was not the sudden burst of ungoverned passions, which might have hurried them on to the commission of a solitary deed of frightful but unpremeditated violence—nor were their crimes the consequence of ancient feuds, inherited from their restless and vindictive ancestors—nor yet had they the too common apology, that they originated in impetuous assaults made upon them, and that their hasty quarrels sprung from a fiery and unbridled temper, which had unfortunately terminated in fatal results. On the contrary, the whole of their numerous attempts and crimes may be characterised as cool, calculating, and deliberate acts, anxiously studied, and by slow and patient, but sure degrees, matured and prosecuted, for a long series of years, until at length 'the measure of their ini-

quities overflowed,'—and the unlooked-for occurrence of an extraordinary train of circumstances, the most unlikely to have happened, eventually led to a triumphant discovery of their enormous crimes.

"It is quite unnecessary here to enter into any detailed account of the facts connected with the crimes of these individuals. Their leading features are already familiar to all, ever since the publication of 'AUCHINDRANE, OR THE AYRSHIRE TRAGEDY,' from the pen of Sir Walter Scott; in the preface to which dramatic sketch, the origin and progress of these dark transactions are so fully discussed, that the editor begs simply to refer the reader to a reperusal of that work.[1]

"In addition to the information contained in the 'Dittay,' and in the pleadings in this trial, the editor has been anxious to collect and lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances connected with the history of the elder and younger Mures. For this purpose, he has for some years past used all exertions to extend his researches in every direction, where authentic illustrative documents and records could be procured—and he has now the satisfaction of appending to this highly interesting case a variety of papers, which may almost be said to throw all the light that can now be reasonably expected, on proceedings which occurred now above two hundred and twenty years ago."—P. 124.

Accordingly, the whole of this infernal business may be traced with the utmost minuteness in these authentic documents, in which it will be seen how Auchindrane long persecuted and finally despatched an unfortunate boy, merely because he possessed a casual piece of knowledge tending to develope an assassination which the cruel laird had committed. He at length slew him by the help of his own son and another assistant, too steady a clansman to question his chief's pleasure. The death of his unscrupulous accomplice in the boy's murder was next planned, and after that, it was hoped and

[1] [See Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, edition of 1833, vol. xii. p. 241.]

schemed that the third assassin, to whom the slaughter of this accomplice was to be intrusted, might be himself killed by some friend of the deceased, upon the old quarrel of deadly feud. The remarkable species of pride displayed by this singular old ruffian, when he resolved not to be exiled for so mean a crime as killing the poor boy—a pride which induced him to commit a bloody assault upon one of his feudal enemies, merely that a more gentlemanlike charge against himself might be established as an excuse for his non-appearance,—all this opens points of character which could, perhaps, be paralleled from no other age or country.

Many instances singularly and frightfully indicative of the ferocity of the Highland clans, neither fancifully coloured with fictitious circumstances, nor adorned with those evening lights with which the compassion of a civilized age gilds the legends of a decaying and romantic race, but depicted in their broad character of blood and inhumanity, are given in this veracious record, where nothing can be either extenuated or set down in malice. The feud between the Macdonalds and the Macleans forms one terrible example; and if we wished to draw from the life the picture of a feudal tyrant, we would not go farther than a selection from the indictment of Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, for treason and oppression. This person, a near relation of his sovereign, exercised a royal power within the distant isles of Orkney and Shetland, where his mandates had the force of laws, against which the voice of the oppressed islanders was far

too weak to make itself heard. This haughty savage exacted from his subjects engagements in which they became bound to support his quarrel against every man, without exception of the King himself. The subscribers of these treasonable obligations moreover bound themselves to be judged by the said earl, without reserving or acknowledging any appeal to King, council, or session; "a thing," says the indictment, "unnatural, unjust, tyrannical, *impossible*, and treasonable." He was also accused of interrupting the passages and ferries of Orkney and Shetland, so that none should be allowed to use them without his own special license, and those who transgressed this petty tyrant's mandate were subject to ruinous fines and imprisonment. Nor was the property of the King's tenants in these islands more secure than their personal liberty. The earl altered, at his own pleasure, and always to his own advantage, the acknowledged standards of coins, weights, and measures, current through the archipelago. In erecting his castle of Scalloway, and other expensive edifices, the King's tenants were forced to work in quarries, transport stone and lime, dig, delve, climb, and build, and submit to all possible sorts of servile and painful labour, without either meat, drink, hire, or recompense of any kind: "finally," says the indictment, "the said earl has treasonably discharged the said inhabitants of Orkney or Shetland to buy or sell meal, malt, meat, drink, fish, flesh, butter, cattle, sheep, or other commodities, without his license, under severe penalties, which were levied by impri-

sonment or forfeiture at the pleasure of the earl." This noted oppressor was finally brought to trial and executed at the Cross of Edinburgh. It is said that the King's mood was considerably heated against him by some ill-chosen and worse-written Latin inscriptions with which his father and himself had been unlucky enough to decorate some of their insular palaces. In one of these, Earl Robert, the father, had given his own designation, thus—"Orcadiæ comes *Rex* Jacobi quinti filius." In this case he was not perhaps guilty of any thing worse than bad Latin. But James VI., who had a keen nose for puzzling out treason, and with whom an assault and battery upon Priscian ranked in nearly the same degree of crime, had little doubt that the use of the nominative Rex, instead of the genitive Regis, had a "treasonable savour."

Earl Patrick himself seems to have been but a dull monster in the article of apprehension. A clergyman, from whom he demanded an inscription for his already mentioned tower of Scalloway, supplied him with the following quotation from Scripture—"The house which is built on a rock shall stand, but that founded on the sand shall perish." The earl adopted the inscription, and had it labelled on the portal of the tower, where it is still to be seen. "My father," said Earl Patrick, "built his house at Sumburgh on the sand, and it has given way already; this of mine on the rock shall abide and endure." He did not or would not understand that the oppression, rapacity, and cruelty, by means of which the house arose were

what the clergyman really pointed to in his recommendation of a motto. Accordingly, the huge tower remains wild and desolate—its chambers filled with sand, and its rifted walls and dismantled battlements giving unrestrained access to the roaring sea-blast.

But it is not only as illustrative of historical tradition that we would recommend the present collection. It contains also, if they will have the courage to seek such ore amidst a mass which has something of an alarming appearance, much that will greatly interest both the jurist and the moralist. It may, indeed, be compared to that second tower, which Spenser's Alma showed to her guests—

> ——— "whose wals
> Were painted faire with memorable gestes
> Of famous wisards; and with picturals
> Of magistrates, of courts, of tribunals,
> Of commonwealthes, of states, of policy,
> Of lawes, of judgements, and of decretals,
> All artes, all science, all philosophy,
> And all that in the world was ay thought wittily."

The Scottish judicial system contained, like the criminal procedure of all nations derived from the noble Gothic stem, the principles of freedom, the darling attribute of those gallant tribes, to whom the use of arms was as familiar as that of their limbs, and who felt that life could not be enjoyed without the full possession of personal liberty. In particular, the Scots were acquainted, as far back as we can trace the matter, with the institution of juries, though it was only by frequent alterations, and a great many accommodations to the change

of manners, that it finally settled into that appearance which it now presents. Of the more ancient jurors, we may doubt whether they were any other than an improvement upon the system of compurgators, adopted among the Scandinavians. These were, in fact, rather witnesses to the character of the accused—a matter which must in those days have been of decisive consequence—than persons invested, like our modern jurors, with a judicial capacity *pro re natâ*. Upon this old and rude plan the evidence against the accused having been submitted to the court, he produced in support of his answer a certain number of persons, his friends and neighbours, who made oath that, having heard all that was stated against the accused, they were nevertheless of opinion, from their knowledge of his temper and habits, that he was innocent. This opinion concerning the origin of Scottish juries has been fortified by the learned Dr Hibbert, who cites the oath of the Radman of Zetland—an oath nearly the same with that now administered to Scotch jurors, "the truth to tell and no truth to conceal," and which certainly bears nearer reference, *primâ facie*, to the office of a compurgator, than to that of a juror, whose business it is to report his faithful opinion on the import of the evidence of others. The supposition has been, that the one institution merged into the other; but this certainly was not the fact, at least in the way assumed, for there is historical proof that, in at least one noted case in which the accused person desired to excuse himself by *compurgation*, he was required to sub-

ject himself to the *trial by jury*. It occurred as follows:—

In the year 1242, David de Hastings, Earl of Atholl, was, among other Scottish nobles, engaged in a tournament, where he chanced to overthrow William Bisset, a favourite of the King, whose interest was great, and his family powerful and numerous. A fatal animosity rose; in consequence of which (as was at least generally supposed) the Earl of Atholl was assassinated at Haddington, and the house in which he lodged was burned. Suspicion fell on Bisset, and the nobility of Scotland rose in arms and demanded his life. Bisset stood on his defence. He declared he was fifty miles distant from Haddington on the night when the crime was perpetrated. He offered to vindicate his innocence by single combat against every accuser; and, what is more to our present purpose, to prove, by the oaths of any number of veteran soldiers whose testimony should be required, that he was incapable of such an act of treachery as had been charged against him. The Queen herself, a beautiful young princess of the heroic family of Couci, offered, as a compurgator, to make her solemn oath that Bisset had never meditated so enormous a crime. But the nobles around the King rejected the defences offered by Bisset, demanding, at the same time, if he was willing to commit himself to *the oaths of his fellow subjects and the opinion of the neighbourhood.* This he refused, "considering," says Fordun, "the malicious prepossessions of rustics, and the general

prejudice of the province." He was obliged, therefore, to fly from Scotland, and the event was his ruin with that of his numerous family and allies. In this celebrated instance we certainly read the early establishment of the Scottish *jury*, properly so called; but then, and for many ages afterwards, it existed on a precarious footing, and was far from affording to the subject any very efficient means of protection. In very ancient times, indeed, and even down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, the jurors took the law as well as facts of the case under their consideration, and decided whether the incidents narrated in the indictment corresponded with or fell short of the crime charged. They brought in a verdict, not, indeed, of *guilty* or *not guilty*, but what amounted to the same thing, of cleansed or assoilzied, or proven and convict; such was, apparently, the original process. But by a train of gradual encroachments, the judges wrested from the jury the most important part of their privilege, and while they allowed still the uncontrolled decision of the facts of the case, they contrived to assume to themselves the cognizance of the law, and thus made themselves masters, in a great degree, of the fate of the prisoner. The form then introduced was of the following tenor.

The indictment charged the prisoner, or, as he is called, "more Scotico," *the panel*, with having been actor or art and part (*artifex et particeps*) in a particular set of facts, charged as amounting to murder, or some other specific crime. The counsel debated, if there was room for debate, what crime

such facts ought to infer, in case they were proven. The court pronounced on these circumstances an interlocutor of relevancy, as it was called, settling exactly to what offence the facts libelled would amount, provided they should be regularly proved. The jury had then nothing to do save to ascertain whether the facts alleged were *proven* or *not proven:* in the latter case the prisoner was dismissed; in the former the doom of the court took place, as ascertained by the interlocutor of relevancy, whatever might be the real opinion of the jurors respecting the nature of the prisoner's guilt, which, of course, might very often be considered by them in a milder view than had been adopted by the judges.

A singular case occurred in last century, which occasioned a remarkable revolution in this matter; its whole circumstances belong to a former day, though its particulars are still fresh in remembrance. It may be shortly recapitulated here, though in Scotland, as a *cause célèbre*, both considering its circumstances and its jurisprudential result, it is well known.

A numerous party of Angusshire country gentlemen met at a funeral in the town of Forfar, about the year 1728. James Carnegie of Finhaven was a principal person present: he was obnoxious to some of the company, who were violent Jacobites, on account of his political principles, or rather of some change which he was supposed to have made in them. An individual named Lyon of Brigton was also present, respected as a man of

good family, but of a character so savage and rough, especially when warmed with liquor, that the gentry in the neighbourhood were accustomed to refuse him admission into their society, unless he came without a sword, which was at that time accounted the distinctive mark of a man of condition. It was the wild custom of that day, that much wine was consumed at funerals; and Carnegie, who acted as host, being nearest relative to the deceased, had his own share, and pressed it, as was the custom, on the other persons present. Lyon was inflamed with liquor, of which all parties had too much. He annoyed Carnegie with many cutting and brutal sarcasms, doubly severe as applied at such a time, and in such a company. The gentleman in the chair endured all with remarkable temperance until personal aggression was added to verbal insult. When the company came into the street, the aggressor thrust Carnegie down into the kennel, from which he arose mad with the natural passion to which he had been long wrought up. He drew his sword, exclaiming—" This is too much to be borne," and staggered towards Lyon with mortal intentions, not to be wondered at, considering the continued and gross provocation he had received, and the condition in which he himself was. Lyon, who had no sword of his own, for the reason already mentioned, rushed towards the Earl of Strathmore, his friend and chief, and endeavoured to seize his lordship's weapon to repel the attack of Carnegie. The nobleman was a person generally and justly

esteemed, and, desirous to preserve the peace on either hand, he pushed his relation aside, and threw himself between him and the gentleman so grossly offended. Unhappily, in thus interposing himself in the quarrel, he received a mortal thrust, designed by Carnegie for the person who had given him such mortal insults, and died immediately afterwards. Such was the memorable case before the court. The facts were stated accurately in the indictment, and the judge pronounced them relevant to infer the crime of murder. The feelings of the jury, however, revolted against being bound by the declaration of the law laid down by the bench—they felt that the death of the Earl of Strathmore was an incident altogether unintended and deeply lamented by the unfortunate homicide —they considered his real purpose of aggression against Lyon as excused, if not fully justified, by the grossness of Lyon's provocation; and, accordingly, they brought in a general verdict, finding that Carnegie was *not guilty* of the crime of murder, while they avoided giving any opinion whether the facts of the indictment were either proved or otherwise. In this leading case was first ascertained the right of the Scottish jury to acquit an accused person, although it should be proved upon his trial that he was guilty of acts which the judges had found by their interlocutor of relevancy to amount to the crime libelled. Similar general verdicts have been brought in where the judgment of relevancy was esteemed too severe, nor is this valuable privilege now questioned.

But this was far from being the only change necessary to invest the jury with that wholesome power which we now consider as its necessary possession. Far down in the seventeenth century the crown still exercised a superior and magisterial right of interfering with the verdict of a jury, and in fact of controlling and overawing the inquest itself—a practice which, however iniquitous in many of its results, may be traced to the very root of the judicial system not only in Scotland but in most other European states. The sovereign was, in all these systems, the source of judicial authority, and in early times, like the Kings of Israel, distributed justice, sitting personally in the gate, to those who demanded it at his hand. This is the obvious reason why all writs run in the name of the king. The intervention of *justiciars*, as they are named in Scotland—professional judges, that is to say—was a great and obvious improvement; for though a young king might lead his army bravely, and hold his court royally, he could hardly be expected to be born with the habits of mind necessary to exercise the judicial functions. Still, however, he remained the principal judge; and the circumstances which controlled his administration in that capacity were so numerous, that it was natural he should seize on all sorts of opportunities and pretexts to sweep such obstacles from his way; and one of the methods thus resorted to was indeed a strange one.

By a primeval, and exquisitely absurd fiction of law, the indictment or libel was supposed to be the very words of the King himself, addressed to the

court, the accused person, and the jurors. From this the ingenuity of crown-lawyers derived a hideous result,—namely, that when the accused was put upon his trial, he might support his cause otherwise as he best could, but he must on no account take up any line of defence inconsistent with the truth of the facts charged in the libel, which, as the King's own account of the matter, could not be called in question. A defence, therefore, of *alibi*, the most direct and intelligible which could be stated, as being contradictory of the royal libel, was of no avail; and thus the accused person was exactly in the state of one who should be placed in the lists to fight for his life with his right hand tied behind his back. Something of the same absurd doctrine may be observed in England during the trials which flowed out of the Popish plot, when the judges often checked and repelled any pleading for the accused which went to impeach the testimony of the *King's witnesses*,—namely, Oates, Dugdale, and Bedloe, now universally given up as a set of perjured monsters. Common sense by degrees softened down this absurd doctrine in Scotland, and jurists at length plucked up heart to pronounce the accused at liberty *capitulare directe contrarium ejus quod libellatur*. And full time it was that such an absurdity should be exploded, since, while it existed, it must have been easy for an expert lawyer to draw up his libel in such a manner that no defence should be available against it.

In considering the extraordinary methods, how-

ever, by which the crown maintained influence in the criminal courts of Scotland, we must not forget what continual obstruction it was exposed to in its attempts to administer any thing like justice to so unruly a people—especially whenever any powerful individual or party was concerned. A delinquent who felt himself bold enough to face the tribunal of justice took marvellous care not to trust to his innocence alone, even if he was furnished with that moral defence. Wherever he was himself powerful, or where his cause was for any reason well befriended, he presented himself at the bar with as many armed friends and retainers as would, according to the phrase of the day, "do for him." The most innocent and meritorious—the most guilty and criminal—had recourse to the same means of controlling the course of the law. When the government of Mary of Guise determined on proceeding criminally against the reformed preachers, the enthusiastical hearers of the congregation agreed, as discharging the ordinary part of friends and favourers of an accused party, to present themselves in court in arms, in defence of their pastors, and assembled a little army, which soon overawed and suspended the plans of the Queen. In like manner, when Bothwell subjected himself to a mock trial for the murder of Henry Darnley, he took care to be so well guarded, both by his own retainers and dependents, and by bands of mercenary soldiers, that it was impossible the slightest chance of conviction should occur. In this, as in many other cases, the observation of Lucan held just:—

" Quis castra timenti
Nescit mista foro ? gladii cum triste minantes
Judicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona,
Atque auso medias perrumpere milite leges
Pompejana reum clauserunt signa Milonem ?"

In the same tone says Richard Maitland of Lethington, contrasting the excellence of the Scottish laws with the violence by which their execution was too often opposed,—

" To make acts we have some skeil;
God woteth if we keip them weil !
We come to bar with jack of steil,
As we wou'd boast the judge and fray.
Of sic justice I have nae skeil,
Where rule and order are away."

Besides the risk that the common course of justice, when directed against persons of importance, should be obstructed by the intervention of jack and spear, it must be remembered that there was a great part of Scotland in which the King had little authority, and his writs no efficient currency, unless supported by actual military force. To the whole of Scotland north of the Highland line this fully applied down to a late period; nor were the four frontier counties, though containing much excellent and fruitful soil, in a condition more amenable to the law, until after the union of the crowns. When the prince, feeling himself more than usually strong, provoked, perhaps to extremity, by the disorders of these wild people, formed a resolution to suppress them at all risks, he was wont to place himself at the head of an army, and march into the offending districts, executing, with the utmost rigour, whomsoever he came upon in

his way. In these frantic exertions of power, under the disguise of justice, much blood was shed; the seed was sown, of course, for much deadly feud, in a country where it could not fail to germinate; and as there could be small leisure for drawing distinctions between the guilty and innocent, the King rather resembled Attila, the Scourge of Heaven, or a vindictive feudal champion dealing blows with his battle-axe at a venture, than a sovereign wielding the sword of justice with composure and serenity.

It is not necessary, however, to enter into this part of the subject, and it may be more profitable to enquire by what expedients the Kings of Scotland endeavoured, in cases that fell within the common course of judicature, to overcome the disadvantages by which it was so miserably interrupted. One of these was a resource which we are afraid is very common in similar cases, being, in fact, near of kin to the principle which bounded the chirurgical practice of P. P., clerk of this parish, "who to bleed adventured not, *except the poor.*" The King of Scotland, in like manner, when his purposes of justice were defeated by these proud thanes, who made the bar of criminal jurisprudence resemble the defended garden of Eden,

> "With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms,"

sought for a recompense to his hurt pride and injured authority by letting the full weight of his indignation descend upon some unfortunate wretch

of the lower orders, who had been guilty of any cognizable crime, but especially if he had been instigated by the insubordination of his betters to do something inferring disrespect to his sacred majesty,—it seems, in short, on such occasions, to have been a matter of great indifference where the staff was cut with which such a dog was to be beaten, provided only it was a cur of low degree who underwent castigation.

The following extraordinary and despotic instance is probably unique in the annals of judicial proceedings. We will first mention the circumstances as they are recorded in the journal of an honest citizen of Edinburgh, often quoted by Scottish antiquaries.

"April 27, 1601.—Archibald Cornuel, town officer, hanged at the Cross, and hung on the gallows twenty-four hours; and the cause wherefor he was hanged; he, being an unmerciful, greedy creature, poinded (that is, attached by distress) an honest man's house; and amongst the rest he poinded the king and queen's picture; and when he came to the cross to comprise (appraise and expose to auction) the same, he hung them up on two nails on the same gallows to be comprised; and they being seen, word went to the king and queen, whereupon he was apprehended and *hanged*."

These were the days, Mr Rigmarole! We scarcely know whether to wonder most at such an exertion of power, or at the quiet and matter-of-fact manner in which the punishment and its cause are recorded. It is supposed that Sir Thomas Hamilton, then King's Advocate, well known by the name of Tom of the Cowgate, must have procured this extraordinary conviction upon some *dicta*

drawn from the civil law, where the *imagines* of the emperors are recommended to religious veneration, and those who profaned or insulted them were held guilty of impiety. It was even doubted at the time whether the unfortunate Cornuel had done more than meditate the foul treason which he died for; it was alleged he had *only* bored a hole in the King's picture with the treasonable purpose of disposing it upon the gibbet, but was prevented from doing so by the murmurs of the people. It is obvious that the whole passed *per incuriam* on the part of the catchpole, and without the slightest degree of "malice prepense;" the unlucky man could have had no further purpose than to hang the picture where it might be best seen when exposed to auction with the debtor's other effects. But the jury,—by the by, Mr Pitcairn thinks it an aggravation of Cornuel's wrongs that no fewer than eight of them were *tailors*,—probably held opinion with the worthy journalist above cited, that any reason might serve for hanging an unmerciful, greedy bumbailiff, who bore the character of being severe in his odious office of attaching *honest men's* goods. It would seem that the reign of James VI., good-humoured as that prince certainly was, afforded various other instances of similar despotism, in which his sacred majesty played the "tyrant of the minnows." We ourselves had lately occasion, in our review of his "Royal Progresses," to notice the *brevi manu* execution of a fellow who was taken for cutting purses during his majesty's halt in Newark in 1603, and forthwith strung up by no

further warrant than the King's order; and the ingenious editor points out one or two other cases equally summary. John Dickson, for example, a stubborn Englishman, being commanded by an officer of the ordnance to veer his boat and give place to the king's artillery, he answered, he would not veer his boat either for king or kaisar, and thereto added, that James was but a bastard king, and not worthy to be obeyed, for which crimes he was condemned to death. October 10th, 1600, Francis Tennant was indicted for a libel, as we should now term it, detracting from the king, and terming him (in allusion to Rizzio) the son of Signor Davie. He was sentenced to be taken to the Market Cross, his tongue cut out by the roots, his brows crowned with a paper on which his crime should be inscribed, and then hanged till death; a subsequent revision of the sentence dispensed with the cutting out the tongue, or any further torture, such being the tender mercies of the sapient monarch; but the punishment of death was inflicted.

It was not, however, always safe or easy for the sovereign to proceed by so straight a road; but then he had oblique methods of working both upon the fears of the criminal and the apprehensions of the jury, which frequently carried him as certainly, if not as directly, to the desired point. The most common of these was that species of argument by which the accused was prevailed upon to *come in the king's will*, that is, to submit to his mercy, and leave the nature and extent of the punishment to the royal pleasure. It is evident that in many cases

this might serve both parties. A criminal might escape with a milder punishment, who, if convicted under the law, would have been liable to a great one; and a fine to the exchequer might often reconcile the sovereign to robbing the gallows.

A remarkable case of this kind occurs in the present publication. One John Kincaid of Craighouse, a wild young gentleman, having his residence and property near Edinburgh, had cast his eyes upon a comely young widow, well endowed with a jointure, and, according to the rough mode of wooing, not uncommon at the time, projected an attack upon her person when she was quietly residing under the roof of John Johnston, bailie of the Water of Leith. Kincaid, supported by divers accomplices, having arms both offensive and defensive, entered the house, laid hands on the fair widow, and carried her off to the laird's tower of Craighouse, situated on the Braidhills. Little is said of Isabel Hutchison's desperation or resistance, and, considering the small distance to which the pretty dame was transported, it seems extremely dubious whether more violence was either offered or intended than just that *modicum* of it which might give her an apology for following her own inclinations. But the unlucky laird had chosen the hours of broad daylight for his gallant exploit, and, what was worse, King James and his attendants were abroad hunting in the fields through which Craighouse and his party conveyed their fair prize. At sight of the royal *cortège*, no doubt, the kidnapped widow assumed a most disconsolate appear-

ance, and uttered her cries for help more earnestly than before, and King James, though scarce by habit a professed slave of the fair sex, was moved to interpose his authority in her behalf. The Earl of Mar and Sir John Ramsay were despatched to beset, with a sufficient retinue, the ravisher's tower of Craighouse, and deliver the distressed dame, Isabel Hutchison, in which they found no difficulty;—but mark the end. The unfortunate laird of Craighouse, not knowing to what extremities he might be subjected for an act of violence committed almost in the royal presence, was probably easily induced to *come in the King's will*, and his punishment was a fine of nearly a ruinous extent, being twenty-five thousand merks to be paid to his highness and his treasurer; and, what is diverting enough, the unfortunate culprit is peremptorily appointed to deliver to the King or to his treasurer, over and above the fine, his brown horse, which perhaps had pleased his grace when he had a glimpse of it at their rencounter on Braidhills.

The King's will was not always so favourable: sometimes actual execution of the criminal was ordered; and we remember one outrageous case of this kind seemingly allied to those of Tennant and Cornuel before mentioned. This unlucky person was a Scottishman by birth, and, what appears of itself an anomaly, was brought to trial in his own country for a crime committed in England. He was charged with having put upon the door of St Mary's College (New College) in the university of Oxford, a scandalously false and treasonable libel, containing reflections upon his own countrymen,

asserting that all Scottishmen should be put from court except the King and his family, and upbraiding the English for suffering themselves to be domineered over by such offscourings of the people. The unfortunate libeller placed himself in the King's will, acknowledging that he had committed the act in a fit of madness, and expressing extreme contrition; he was nevertheless condemned to have his hands struck off, and to be beheaded.[1]

Another mode remained, of a nature yet more violent, by which the King of Scotland might wrest to his own purpose the opinion of the jury. These persons were always liable, if they brought a verdict contrary to the opinion of the crown counsel, to be themselves called to account for perjury or wilful error; and whenever the King's Advocate had any suspicion that an accused person was likely to escape by the verdict of the jury, he was sure to remind them what the consequences might be to themselves.

There was yet another method in which the sovereign power of Scotland currently interfered with the procedure of justice, not to enforce its authority indeed, but to obstruct it by snatching offenders from its vengeance; and its operations are more frequently to be traced through Mr Pitcairn's collection than those of any, or perhaps of all the doctrines we have touched upon. There was no crime so gross that the party accused of it did not very often plead the King's remission at the bar, and compel the judges to

[1] Introduction to Maclaurin's Cases, p. xxxviii.

dismiss him without farther trial. The general looseness of this practice had most deplorable effects; and in James's reign it became more than ever prevalent, owing to the natural facility of his temper, his indulgence to courtiers and favourites, and his want of power to resist the most unreasonable requests, when urged by those who had access to, or interest with him. In the case of the notorious Archibald Douglas, the King appears to have been induced to shelter under the shadow of his protection a person whom no one ever doubted to have been particularly active in the murder of Henry Darnley, his father. After this, it would be superfluous to add other instances of those unseemly and indecent remissions; yet the following case so completely illustrates the impuissance of the laws, and the sacrifices which a sovereign of Scotland was compelled to make to the troubles of the time, that we are tempted to quote it.

Captain James Stewart (sometime Earl of Arran) was one of King James's earliest minions, and neither he nor any other prince ever settled his affections on a worse. Having ventured to stir from the solitude in which he had spent some years of retirement, after being banished from court, this Stewart ventured, in 1595, to appear in public and to pass near the castle of Douglas of Torthorwald. That haughty baron was made acquainted with a freedom which he esteemed to be done in bravado, as the disgraced favourite was at mortal feud with all the name of Douglas, for having been the principal agent in pressing for-

ward the trial and execution of the Regent Morton. Torthorwald, therefore, incensed at his enemy's audacity, threw himself hastily on horseback, as soon as he knew of his journey, pursued Stewart up a wild pass called the Gate-slack, ran a lance through his body and left him dead on the highway. The friends of the deceased endeavoured to bring the homicide to justice. But Douglas, not caring to undergo the risk of a trial, rather chose to submit to the decree of outlawry, which followed on the occasion. Mean while, he resided at his castle near Dumfries, with the certainty of making his part good against any one who should approach him with the purpose of giving him disturbance. Things remained in this state till 1598, when the Earl of Angus, lord warden of the whole marches, and having full power of King's lieutenant over the entire frontier, had occasion to command a general assembly of all the gentlemen within his territory for some branch of public service. On such meetings, all the landholders in the district were bound to attend under high penalties; and the Baron of Torthorwald failed not to obey the summons, the rather, that it was sent forth by the Earl of Angus, the head of the house of Douglas. Nor had the earl, acting in his high office, the least hesitation at accepting the military services and aid of a person accused of the murder of the King's ancient minister and near cousin, and who was denounced rebel, and under sentence of outlawry, for his refusal to abide trial for this crime.

But this is only one shade of an extraordinary

picture. To complete it we must add, that the appearance of Torthorwald at the host officially assembled by the Earl of Angus, and, it may be supposed, the predominance of the Douglas interest, determined many gentlemen in Ayrshire, Cunninghames, Kennedies, and others, connected by blood or friendship with that Stewart for whose slaughter Torthorwald was under outlawry, to absent themselves from the host assembled by the King's lieutenant, rather choosing to incur the penalties which might attach to their absence, than risk the quarrels and bloodshed likely to spring from their meeting with Torthorwald, where both parties were in arms.

The *remission* granted by the King on this occasion affords a most striking proof of his helpless state as a sovereign. It may at the same time serve as a specimen of the structure and orthography of the record.

" We vnderstanding that our louittis, William Cwninghame of Caprintoune and Daniell Cwninghame of Dalbeyth, being chargeit be vertew of Proclamatioune, to haif mett our rycht traist cousing, Williame Erll of Angus, our Lieutennent and Wardane of our West Marcheis, att Drumfreis, or sic vther pairtis contenit in our said Proclamatioun, for persuit of the disobedient persounis within our said Wardanrie, in the moneth of Februar, I^m. V^c.lxxxxviij yeiris: And that for obedience thairof, and command of our said Proclamatioune, thay addressit thame selffis in weirlie maner with thair freindis and seruandis to our said raid; and James Dowglas of Torthorrell, being our rebell, and lying att our horne, for the slauchter of our vmq^le cousing, James Stewart of Newtoune, and thair neir kynnisman, being than in cumpany att the said raid with our said Lieutennent: swa that the saidis Williame Cwninghame of Caprintoune, George Campbell of Cesnok, nor the said Daniell Cwninghame, could nocht

guidlie remane att our said raid (the said James Dowglas being in thair cumpany): Quhairvpoun thay haifing than menit thame vnto ws, We, for eschewing of gritar inconuenient, than faithfullie promittit *in verbo principis*, and gave licence to thame, thair friendis and seruandis, to pas hame fra our said raid, and that they sould thairefter, att na tyme addres thame selffis to ony raid with our said Lieutennent (the said James Dowglas being in cumpany with him), bot that thay sould remane att hame, and incur na skaith nor danger thairthrow. And als, that the saidis Williame, George and Daniell, being lykewyis chargeit agane, to haif mett with our said Lieutennent att onr said burch of Drumfreise, vpon the xxij day of September lastbypast (with quhom the said James Dowglas was than in cumpany), swa that thay mycht not addres thame selffis thairto: Thairfor, and according to our said promeis, we haif freelie Remittit, and be thir presentis Remittis the saidis Williame Cwninghame, George Campbell and Daniell Cwninghame, thair kyn, freindis and seruandis of all offence, cryme and panis committit be thame, for abyding fra the saidis raidis or ony of thame; Discharging heirfore our Treasaurer, Aduocat, Justice, Justice-deputis and vtheris officieris quhatsoever, of all calling, atteiching, areisting, poinding, vnlawing, trubling or intrometting with the saidis personis, thair freindis or seruandis, or ony of thame, for abyding fra the saidis raidis or ony of thame and of thair offices in that pairt for ewir; nochtwithstanding ony lettres, proclamatiounes and charges direct thairanent: Quhairanent and haill painis contenit thairin, We haif dispensit, and dispensis be thir presentis. Subscryuit with our hand, Att Halyruidhous, the xvj day of Februar, 1600.

(Sic subscribitur.) "JAMES R.

"LENOX, MONTROISE, CASSILLIS, VCHILTRIE, FYVIE, BLANTYRE, SECRETARIUS."—Part III., pp. 107, 108.

In this curious letter, the King expresses no displeasure against his lieutenant, for admitting an outlawed murderer, to form part of his royal host, and by doing so preventing the attendance of the relations of the slain man. Neither does he rebuke the Earl of Angus, his representative, who, vested with full power for all such purposes, did not arrest Torthorwald when in his presence. He

helplessly and quietly admits, that the objection of the Ayrshire petitioners to being exposed to meet with a person with whom they were at deadly feud, was a good apology for absenting themselves from the King's service, and pardons their non-appearance accordingly; in short, acknowledges and submits to, without daring to censure, the sway of passions and practices at open war with the welfare of society, the power of law, and the dignity of his crown.

The end of this affair was, that a nephew of the slain Captain Stewart avenged the deadly feud by running Torthorwald through the body some time after, as he was walking in the streets of Edinburgh. But, in truth, no reader of these volumes, whatever his previous acquaintance with Scottish history may have been, will contemplate, without a feeling of absolute wonder, the view of society which they unveil—or find it easy to comprehend how a system, subject to such severe concussions in every part, contrived, nevertheless, to hold itself together. The whole nation would seem to have spent their time, as one malefactor expressed it, "in drinking deep, and taking deadly revenge for slight offences."

It is startling to find how late the brutal and savage scheme of manners remained in full force. In June, 1608, for example, we find a youth of quality, nearly related to the royal family, namely John Stewart, son to the Lord of Doune and brother to the Lord of St Colme, tried for the murder of an individual in a very inferior station,

called John Gibb, in Over Lessody, under the following circumstances. A quarrel having taken place between the poor man Gibb and the young gentleman's attendant or groom, an exaggerated account of the matter was carried to Stewart, who was at that time engaged over his bottle. He instantly started up, and swore to bereave Gibb of his life. The company interposed, and would not permit him to leave them, until he had given his "faithful word" that he had changed his blood-thirsty resolution. Yet so soon as he was free from the company, he rode instantly to Gibb's house, and called to the poor man in bed to rise and open the door; Gibb, knowing his voice, arose in his shirt without the slightest apprehension of evil, and on undoing the door, received a stab from Stewart's dirk, of which he died in forty-eight hours. It was also charged, that the assassin next morning showed the bloody dirk in triumph, saying, that if Gibb were the devil's man he had got enough to quench his thirst. This case was withdrawn from the court of justiciary, and further proceedings therein stopped, no doubt by the royal order, so that it becomes another illustration of the general system of remissions. Let it be remembered, that to inflame a race of such extreme irritability, the custom of deadly feud lent its ready assistance—a custom which enjoined that every injury or insult received from an individual of a particular clan or name, might be honourably, if not legally, retaliated upon any other person bearing the same name; and we have a state of man-

ners presented to us, more resembling the perpetual storm and fury of the infernal regions than the civilized order of a Christian nation.

The northern legislature itself seems to have been fully sensible of the atrocity of the national temper, and accordingly their laws concerning homicide were far more rigorous than those of the sister kingdom, which their jurists gravely defended, by alleging the necessity of restraining the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*. The traces of this still remain. The Scottish law has been so framed to discountenance all approaches to personal encounter, that even marked aggressions will not vindicate the person who receives them. Nor, even at this hour, do the judges receive openly or avowedly the distinction, so broadly marked in the English law, between the homicide whose guilt arises out of some sudden strife and unpremeditated quarrel, and the deliberate and aforethought murderer. Yet not only did this affectation of judging with extreme severity the first provocation to violence fail of producing the desired effect in the elder time, but at this hour many of their own authors are forced to recognise the remnants of the fierce and vindictive propensities of their fathers among a nation otherwise proverbially moderate in their passions and moral in their deportment. If we consider the criminal calendars of England and Scotland in a comparative view, we must of course first make allowance for the population and the wealth of the principal nation. While our northern provinces are, for the most part, thinly peopled and

by a simple race, removed from the general temptations of higher civilisation—a great part of England is, on the contrary, densely inhabited by a manufacturing population, sometimes wallowing in opulence, which they waste in sensual enjoyment, sometimes reduced to the most sordid distress—either condition, unhappily, the fruitful mother of vices, which cannot so readily occur in a country still mainly pastoral and agricultural. To this must be added, the great effect produced upon the Scottish nation by their excellent system of parochial schools and general education. Such instruction, almost universally diffused, has had potent influence in ameliorating men's minds and taming their stormy passions. It has taught them reflection and moderation as its necessary consequence; it reminds them, that as sure as the day is followed by the night, so sure must the actions of the day be accounted for, and the indulgence of passion of whatever kind repaid by distress, remorse, or punishment. Where the population of a country is generally instructed, the influence of education of course extends far beyond the visible limits of its machinery; and in no country has that species of instruction, without which all others are more likely to do evil than good, been more systematically and successfully attended to than in modern Scotland. Still all this being granted,—all deduction being made on the one hand for the infinite concatenation of crime, connected with the mercantile and manufacturing system,—and on the other for such superiority of general edu-

cation as the under ranks of the Scotch can justly pretend to,—it is at least the common opinion that Scotland is, even at this day, remarkably fertile in producing the darker kinds of crime, arising out of deep passion, matured revenge, long-harboured spite, family feuds, disputes among neighbours, and casual quarrels, which the good-natured Englishman forgives and forgets, before the sun has gone down upon his wrath. Without pretending to ascertain whether the traces of such national violence or atrocity, as were stigmatized by old Scottish writers, remain at the present day, we may boldly say, that there is abundance of proof in these volumes of the ferocious and sullen temper of the race in former times. An injury, however trivial, once sustained—an insult, once given, though slight and unintentional—the aggrieved person, like Tam o' Shanter's dame, sat, perhaps for years—

> "Gathering his brows, like gathering storm,
> Nursing his wrath to keep it warm."

Many events are recorded in Mr Pitcairn's collection, which are interesting to the dramatist or the novelist, as they indicate those evolutions of the human heart which such men long to copy from the frightful original. Many afford scenes which the painter might study; and some of them have already exercised the legendary muse of their country. Here we are to look for the real and unadorned history of Hugh the Graham, of Gil-

deroy, both famous in song: of the freebooter, Macpherson—

> "Who played a spring, and danced it round
> Beneath the gallows-tree;"

and other turbulent chiefs, whose memory survives in the northern minstrelsy. Here are abundance of adventures, from which a Lillo might have drawn his plots for tragedies of domestic life, like *Arden of Feversham*, or *The Fatal Curiosity*. In opening the book at random, we light upon an example of the kind, concerning the murder of the Laird of Warriston by his own wife. It is the subject of a Scottish ballad, well known to collectors in that department; and the history of the conversion of the murderess, and of her carriage at her execution, compiled apparently by one of the clergymen of Edinburgh, has been lately printed by Mr Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, whose merits as an author, antiquary, and draughtsman, stand in no need of our testimony.

The story of the young lady is short and melancholy. She was a daughter of Livingston of Dunipace, a courtier, and a favourite of James VI.; an ill-assorted marriage united her at an early age with the Laird of Warriston, a gentleman whom she did not love, and who apparently used her with brutal harshness. The Lady Warriston accused her husband of having struck her several blows, besides biting her in the arm; and conspired with her nurse, Janet Murdo, to murder him. The confidante, inspired by that

half-savage attachment which in those days animated the connexion between the foster-child and the nurse, entered into all the injuries of which her *dalt* (*i. e.* foster daughter) complained, encouraged her in her fatal purpose, and promised to procure the assistance of a person fitted to act the part of actual murderer, or else to do the deed with her own hands. In Scotland, such as we have described it, such a character as the two wicked women desired for their associate was soon found in a groom, called Robert Weir, who appears, for a very small hire, to have undertaken the task of murdering the gentleman. He was ushered privately into Warriston's sleeping apartment, where he struck him severely upon the flank-vein, and completed his crime by strangling him. The lady in the mean time fled from the nuptial apartment into the hall, where she remained during the perpetration of the murder. The assassin took flight when the deed was done, but he was afterwards seized and executed. The lady was tried, and condemned to death, on the 16th of June, 1600. The nurse was at the same time condemned to be burnt alive, and suffered her sentence accordingly: but Lady Warriston, in respect of her gentle descent, was appointed to die by the *Maiden*, a sort of rude guillotine, imported, it is said, from Halifax, by the Earl of Morton, while regent, who was himself the first that suffered by it. The printed account of this beautiful murderess contains a pathetic narrative of the exertions of the worthy clergyman (its author) to bring her to repentance.

At first, his ghostly comfort was very ill received, and she returned with taunts and derision his exhortations to penitence. But this humour only lasted while she had hopes of obtaining pardon through the interest of her family. When these vanished, it was no longer difficult to bring her, in all human appearance, to a just sense of her condition; her thoughts were easily directed towards heaven, so soon as she saw there was no comfort upon earth. It is not for us to judge of the efficacy of repentance upon a death-bed, or at the foot of the gibbet. Lady Warriston's, like that of other criminals, had in it a strain of wild enthusiasm, such as, perhaps, an assistant may be very naturally tempted to sympathize with. It must, indeed, seem astonishing, with what tenacity a wretch condemned to part with life clings to the sympathy of his fellow-mortals, and how readily he adopts the ideas suggested by those who administer the most grateful flattery, if it can be called so, by continuing to express an interest in his desolate condition. Hypocrisy is daily resorted to in cases where it seems utterly useless; nay, it is common to see those, who are under sentence of death for acknowledged crimes, load their souls with deliberate falsehood—only for the purpose of lessening their criminality in a very small degree, in the eyes of the world they are about to close their eyes upon for ever. Spiritual emotions may be, in like manner, feigned or fostered, for attracting the approbation and sympathy of a spiritual guide. In all such cases, therefore, as Mr Sharpe justly concludes,

a confessor ought to be severely cautious how he misleads his penitent with too sure a hope, or presents him to the multitude, as one laying down life rather like a martyr than a criminal; and in none such can it be safe or decent to follow the example of the Lady Warriston's reverend assistant, who did not hesitate to term his penitent a saint, though the blood of her husband had hardly been washed from her hands.

The pride of Lady Warriston's parents suggested a petition that she might be executed betwixt five and six in the morning; but both the clergyman and magistrates seem to have consented unwillingly to this arrangement. The clergyman was particularly offended that the display of her penitence should not be as public as that of her guilt had been; and we may forgive the good man if there was any slight regret for a diminished display of his own success, as a religious assistant, mixed with this avowed dissatisfaction.

Time will not permit us to linger longer upon these records, in which we find, among many meagre and unimportant details, fragments that are inexpressibly interesting. In the *ipsissima verba*, the actual words spoken during the conspiring and the acting of these horrid things, the reader has before him the native language of the strongest passions of the mortal breast—the threat of the murderer—the scorn with which he taunts the victim of his revenge—the petition for pity—the frantic expression of deadly fear—all the terrible, unapproachable, inimitable eloquence of agony.

To explain what we mean, we may quote the well-known instance of the death of Cæsar, in which the three words, *Et tu Brute*, affect the mind more, and stamp a more impressive image of the whole transaction, than all its historic details.

In pursuing this work, we conceive the editor might do well to abridge his own labour by omitting the pleadings upon the relevancy of the indictments, unless when these are singularly interesting or ingenious. They cannot now be in any respect instructive, even to the legal practitioner. We would also recommend, as essential to the value of the collection, such an accurate and extensive index, both of names and circumstances, as may afford an easy and secure means of reference amongst subjects which naturally lie dispersed and disconnected.

We are not altogether willing, even yet, to leave the subject, without addressing a word to those who have it in their power with convenience to assist an antiquarian publication of this nature. Mr Pitcairn would not, probably, thank us, were we to make this expostulation in the tone of the recruiting serjeant, who assures the public, that only a very few young gentlemen of the most irreproachable habits are wanted to complete the gallant regiment for which he beats up. We may, however, observe, that the two associations of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs have done all which can be expected from societies so constituted, in encouraging the present laborious and expensive work; and it will be but fair in those who call

loudly upon them to give the world the benefit of their private presses, to show, on an occasion like the present, that they really set a value upon such things—since, whether the exclusive system practised by these institutions is or is not the most advantageous that might be devised, it certainly has arisen from the carelessness and coldness with which almost all insulated attempts of this nature have recently been suffered to fall to the ground.

LETTERS

TO THE

EDITOR OF THE EDINBURGH WEEKLY JOURNAL,

FROM

MALACHI MALAGROWTHER, Esq.

ON THE

PROPOSED CHANGE OF CURRENCY.

AND

OTHER LATE ALTERATIONS,

AS THEY AFFECT, OR ARE INTENDED TO AFFECT,

THE

KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

Ergo, Caledonia, nomen inane, Vale!

LETTERS

OF

MALACHI MALAGROWTHER.

LETTER I.[1]

February 21, 1826.

MY DEAR MR JOURNALIST,

I am by pedigree a discontented person, so that you may throw this letter into the fire, if you have any apprehensions of incurring the displeasure of your superiors. I am, in fact, the lineal descendant of Sir Mungo Malagrowther, who makes a figure in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, and have retained

[1] [These Letters were addressed to the author's friend, Mr James Ballantyne, Editor of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, and they appeared in that newspaper in February and March, 1826. They were then collected into a Pamphlet, and ran through numerous editions: in the subsequent discussions in Parliament, they were frequently referred to: and although an elaborate answer, by the then Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr Croker, attracted much notice, and was, by the Government of the time, expected to neutralize the effect of the northern lucubrations—the proposed measure, as regarded Scotland, was ultimately abandoned—and that result was universally ascribed to Malachi Malagrowther.]

a reasonable proportion of his ill luck, and, in consequence, of his ill temper. If, therefore, I should chance to appear too warm and poignant in my observations, you must impute it to the hasty and peevish humour which I derive from my ancestor. But, at the same time, it often happens that this disposition leads me to speak useful, though unpleasant truths, when more prudent men hold their tongues and eat their pudding. A lizard is an ugly and disgusting thing enough; but, methinks, if a lizard were to run over my face and awaken me, which is said to be their custom when they observe a snake approach a sleeping person, I should neither scorn his intimation, nor feel justifiable in crushing him to death, merely because he is a filthy little abridgement of a crocodile. Therefore, "for my love, I pray you, wrong me not."

I am old, sir, poor, and peevish, and, therefore, I may be wrong; but when I look back on the last fifteeen or twenty years, and more especially on the last ten, I think I see my native country of Scotland, if it is yet to be called by a title so discriminative, falling, so far as its national, or rather, perhaps, I ought now to say its *provincial*, interests are concerned, daily into more absolute contempt. Our ancestors were a people of some consideration in the councils of the empire. So late as my own younger days, an English minister would have paused, even in a favourite measure, if a reclamation of national rights had been made by a Member for Scotland, supported, as it uniformly then was, by the voice of her representatives and her people.

Such ameliorations in our peculiar system as were thought necessary, in order that North Britain might keep pace with her sister in the advance of improvement, were suggested by our own countrymen, persons well acquainted with our peculiar system of laws (as different from those of England as from those of France), and who knew exactly how to adapt the desired alteration to the principle of our legislative enactments, so that the whole machine might, as mechanics say, work well and easily. For a long time this wholesome check upon innovation, which requires the assimilation of a proposed improvement with the general constitution of the country to which it has been recommended, and which ensures that important point, by stipulating that the measure shall originate with those to whom the spirit of the constitution is familiar, has been, so far as Scotland is concerned, considerably disused. Those who have stepped forward to repair the gradual failure of our constitutional system of law, have been persons that, howsoever qualified in other respects, have had little farther knowledge of its construction, than could be acquired by a hasty and partial survey, taken just before they commenced their labours. Scotland and her laws have been too often subjected to the alterations of any person who chose to found himself a reputation, by bringing in a bill to cure some defect which had never been felt in practice, but which was represented as a frightful bugbear to English statesmen, who, wisely and judiciously tenacious of the legal practice and principles received at home,

are proportionally startled at the idea of any thing abroad which cannot be brought to assimilate with them.

The English seem to have made a compromise with the active tendency to innovation, which is one great characteristic of the day. Wise and sagacious themselves, they are nervously jealous of innovations in their own laws—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, is written on the skirts of their judicial robes, as the most sacred texts of Scripture were inscribed on the phylacteries of the Rabbies. The belief that the Common Law of England constitutes the perfection of human reason, is a maxim bound upon their foreheads. Law Monks they have been called in other respects, and like Monks they are devoted to their own Rule, and admit no question of its infallibility. There can be no doubt that their love of a system, which, if not perfect, has so much in it that is excellent, originates in the most praiseworthy feelings. Call it if you will the prejudice of education, it is still a prejudice honourable in itself, and useful to the public. I only find fault with it, because, like the Friars in the Duenna monopolizing the bottle, these English Monks will not tolerate in their lay-brethren of the North the slightest pretence to a similar feeling.

In England, therefore, no innovation can be proposed affecting the administration of justice, without being subjected to the strict enquiry of the Guardians of the Law, and afterwards resisted pertinaciously until time and the most mature and

reiterated discussion shall have proved its utility, nay, its necessity. The old saying is still true in all its points—Touch but a cobweb in Westminster-Hall, and the old spider will come out in defence of it. This caution may sometimes postpone the adoption of useful amendments, but it operates to prevent all hasty and experimental innovations; and it is surely better that existing evils should be endured for some time longer, than that violent remedies should be hastily adopted, the unforeseen and unprovided-for consequences of which are often so much more extensive than those which had been foreseen and reckoned upon. An ordinary mason can calculate upon the exact gap which will be made by the removal of a cornerstone in an old building; but what architect, not intimately acquainted with the whole edifice, can presume even to guess how much of the structure is, or is not, to follow?

The English policy in this respect is a wise one, and we have only to wish they would not insist upon keeping it all to themselves. But those who are most devoted to their own religion, have least sympathy for the feelings of dissenters; and a spirit of proselytism has of late shown itself in England for extending the benefits of their system, in all its strength and weakness, to a country, which has been hitherto flourishing and contented under its own. They adopted the conclusion, that all English enactments are right; but the system of municipal law in Scotland is not English, therefore it is wrong. Under sanction of this syllo-

gism, our rulers have indulged and encouraged a spirit of experiment and innovation at our expense, which they resist obstinately when it is to be carried through at their own risk.

For more than one half of last century, this was a practice not to be thought of. Scotland was during that period disaffected, in bad humour, armed too, and smarting under various irritating recollections. This is not the sort of patient for whom an experimental legislator chooses to prescribe. There was little chance of making Saunders take the patent pill by persuasion—main force was a dangerous argument, and some thought claymores had edges.

This period passed away, a happier one arrived, and Scotland, no longer the object of terror, or at least great uneasiness, to the British Government, was left from the year 1750 under the guardianship of her own institutions, to win her silent way to national wealth and consequence. Contempt probably procured for her the freedom from interference, which had formerly been granted out of fear; for the medical faculty are as slack in attending the garrets of paupers as the caverns of robbers. But neglected as she was, and perhaps *because* she was neglected, Scotland, reckoning her progress during the space from the close of the American war to the present day, has increased her prosperity in a ratio more than five times greater than that of her more fortunate and richer sister. She is now worth the attention of the learned faculty, and God knows she has had plenty of it. She has been bled and purged, spring and fall, and

talked into courses of physic, for which she had little occasion. She has been of late a sort of experimental farm, upon which every political student has been permitted to try his theory—a kind of common property, where every juvenile statesman has been encouraged to make his inroads, as in Morayland, where, anciently, according to the idea of the old Highlanders, all men had a right to take their prey—a subject in a common dissecting-room left to the scalpel of the junior students, with the degrading inscription,—*Fiat experimentum in corpore vili.*

I do not mean to dispute, sir, that much alteration was necessary in our laws, and that much benefit has followed many of the great changes which have taken place. I do not mean to deprecate a gradual approach to the English system, especially in commercial law. The Jury Court, for example, was a fair experiment, in my opinion, cautiously introduced as such, and placed under such regulations as might best assimilate its forms with those of the existing Supreme Court. I beg therefore to be considered as not speaking of the alterations themselves, but of the apparent hostility towards our municipal institutions, as repeatedly manifested in the course of late proceedings, tending to force and wrench them into a similarity with those of England.

The opinions of our own lawyers, nay, of our Judges, than whom wiser and more honourable men never held that high character, have been, if report speaks true, something too much neglected

and controlled in the course of these important changes, in which, methinks, they ought to have had a leading and primary voice. They have been almost avowedly regarded not as persons the best qualified to judge of proposed innovations, but as prejudiced men, determined to oppose them right or wrong. The last public Commission was framed on the very principle, that if Scotch Lawyers were needs to be employed, a sufficient number of these should consist of gentlemen, who, whatever their talents and respectability might be in other respects, had been too long estranged from the study of Scottish law, to retain any accurate recollection of an abstruse science, or any decided partiality for its technical forms. This was done avowedly for the purpose of evading the natural partiality of the Scottish Judges and practitioners to their own system; that partiality, which the English themselves hold so sacred a feeling in their own Judges and Counsel learned in the law. I am not, I repeat, complaining of the result of the Commissions, but of the spirit in which the alterations were undertaken. Unquestionably much was done in brushing up and improving the old machinery of Scottish Law Courts, and in making it move more rapidly, though scarce, I think, more correctly than before. Despatch has been much attended to. But it may be ultimately found, that the timepiece which runs fastest does not intimate the hour most accurately. At all events, the changes have been made and established—there let them rest. And had I, Malachi Malagrowther, the sole power to-

morrow of doing so, I would not restore the old forms of judicial proceedings; because I hold the constitution of Courts of Justice too serious matters to be put back or forward at pleasure, like a boy's first watch, merely for experiment's sake.

What I *do* complain of is the general spirit of slight and dislike manifested to our national establishments, by those of the sister country who are so very zealous in defending their own; and not less do I complain of their jealousy of the opinions of those who cannot but be much better acquainted than they, both with the merits and deficiencies of the system, which hasty and imperfectly informed judges have shown themselves so anxious to revolutionize.

There is no explanation to be given of this but one—namely, the entire conviction and belief of our English brethren, that the true Themis is worshipped in Westminster Hall, and that her adorers cannot be too zealous in her service; while she, whose image an ingenious artist has depicted balancing herself upon a *te-totum* on the southern window of the Parliament House of Edinburgh, is a mere idol,—Diana of Ephesus,—whom her votaries worship, either because her shrine brings great gain to the craftsmen, or out of an ignorant and dotard superstition, which induces them to prefer the old Scottish *Mumpsimus* to the modern English *Sumpsimus*. Now, this is not fair construction in our friends, whose intentions in our behalf, we allow, are excellent, but who certainly are scarcely entitled to beg the question at issue

without enquiry or discussion, or to treat us as the Spaniards treated the Indians, whom they massacred for worshipping the image of the sun, while they themselves bowed down to that of the Virgin Mary. Even Queen Elizabeth was contented with the evasive answer of Melville, when hard pressed with the trying question, whether Queen Mary or she were the fairest. We are willing, in the spirit of that answer, to say, that the Themis of Westminster Hall is the best fitted to preside over the administration of the larger and more fertile country of beef and pudding; while she of the te-totum (placed in that precarious position, we presume, to express her instability, since these new lights were struck out) claims a more limited but equally respectful homage, within her ancient jurisdiction —*sua paupera regna*—the Land of Cakes. If this compromise does not appease the ardour of our brethren for converting us to English forms and fashions, we must use the scriptural question, "Who hath required these things at your hands?"

The enquiries and result of another commission are too much to the purpose to be suppressed. The object was to investigate the conduct of the Revenue Boards in Ireland and Scotland. In the former, it is well known, great mismanagement was discovered; for Pat, poor fellow, had been playing the loon to a considerable extent. In Scotland, *not a shadow of abuse prevailed.* You would have thought, Mr Journalist, that the Irish Boards would have been reformed in some shape, and the Scotch establishments honourably acquitted, and

suffered to continue on the footing of independence which they had so long enjoyed, and of which they had proved themselves so worthy. Not so, sir. The Revenue Boards, in both countries, underwent exactly the same regulation, were deprived of their independent consequence, and placed under the superintendence of English control; the innocent and the guilty being treated in every respect alike. Now, on the side of Scotland, this was like Trinculo losing his bottle in the pool—there was not only dishonour in the thing, but an infinite loss.

I have heard two reasons suggested for this indiscriminating application of punishment to the innocent and to the culpable.

In the first place, it was honestly confessed that Ireland would never have quietly submitted to the indignity offered to her, unless poor inoffensive Scotland had been included in the regulation. The Green Isle, it seems, was of the mind of a celebrated lady of quality, who, being about to have a decayed tooth drawn, refused to submit to the operation till she had seen the dentist extract a sound and serviceable grinder from the jaws of her waiting-woman—and her humour was to be gratified. The lady was a termagant dame—the wench a tame-spirited simpleton—the dentist an obliging operator—and the teeth of both were drawn accordingly.

This gratification of his humours is gained by Pat's being up with the pike and shilelah on any or no occasion. God forbid Scotland should retrograde towards such a state—much better that the deil, as

in Burns's song, danced away with the whole excise-men in the country. We do not want to hear her prate of her number of millions of men, and her old military exploits. We had better remain in union with England, even at the risk of becoming a subordinate species of Northumberland, as far as national consequence is concerned, than remedy ourselves by even hinting the possibility of a rupture. But there is no harm in wishing Scotland to have just so much ill-nature, according to her own proverb, as may keep her good-nature from being abused; so much national spirit as may determine her to stand by her own rights, conducting her assertion of them with every feeling of respect and amity towards England.

The other reason alleged for this equal distribution of *punishment*, as if it had been the influence of the common sun, or the general rain, to the just and the unjust, was one which is extremely predominant at present with our Ministers—the *necessity* of UNIFORMITY in all such cases; and the consideration what an awkward thing it would be to have a Board of Excise or Customs remaining independent in the one country, solely because they had, without impeachment, discharged their duty; while the same establishment was cashiered in another, for no better reason than that it had been misused.

This reminds us of an incident, said to have befallen at the castle of Glammis, when these venerable towers were inhabited by a certain old Earl of Strathmore, who was as great an admirer

of uniformity as the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have desired. He and his gardener directed all in the garden and pleasure-grounds upon the ancient principle of exact correspondence between the different parts, so that each alley had its brother; a principle which, renounced by gardeners, is now adopted by statesmen. It chanced, once upon a time, that a fellow was caught committing some petty theft, and, being taken in the manner, was sentenced by the Bailie MacWheeble of the jurisdiction to stand for a certain time in the baronial pillory, called the *jougs*, being a collar and chain, one of which contrivances was attached to each side of the portal of the great avenue which led to the castle. The thief was turned over accordingly to the gardener, as ground-officer, to see the punishment duly inflicted. When the Thane of Glammis returned from his morning ride, he was surprised to find both sides of the gateway accommodated each with a prisoner, like a pair of heraldic supporters *chained* and *collared proper*. He asked the gardener, whom he found watching the place of punishment, as his duty required, whether another delinquent had been detected? "No, my Lord," said the gardener, in the tone of a man excellently well satisfied with himself,—"but I thought the single fellow looked very awkward standing on one side of the gate-way, so I gave half-a-crown to one of the labourers to stand on the other side *for uniformity's sake*." This is exactly a case in point, and probably the only one which can be found—with this sole difference, that I do

not hear that the members of the Scottish Revenue Board got any boon for standing in the pillory with those of Ireland—for uniformity's sake.

Lastly, sir, I come to this business of extending to Scotland, the provisions of the Bill prohibiting the issue of notes under L.5 in six months after the period that the regulation shall be adopted in England.

I am not about to enter upon the question which so much agitates speculative writers upon the wealth of nations, or attempt to discuss what proportion of the precious metals ought to be detained within a country; what are the best means of keeping it there; or to what extent the want of specie can be supplied by paper credit: I will not ask if a poor man can be made a rich one, by compelling him to buy a service of plate, instead of the delf ware which served his turn. These are questions I am not adequate to solve. But I beg leave to consider the question in a practical point of view, and to refer myself entirely to experience.

I assume, without much hazard of contradiction, that Banks have existed in Scotland for near one hundred and twenty years—that they have flourished, and the country has flourished with them—and that during the last fifty years particularly, provincial Banks, or branches of the principal established and chartered Banks, have gradually extended themselves in almost every Lowland district in Scotland; that the notes, and especially the small notes, which they distribute, entirely supply the demand for a medium of currency; and that the

system has so completely expelled gold from the country of Scotland, that you never by any chance espy a guinea there, unless in the purse of an accidental stranger, or in the coffers of these Banks themselves. This is granting the facts of the case as broadly as can be asked.

It is not less unquestionable, that the consequence of this banking system, as conducted in Scotland, has been attended with the greatest advantage to the country. The facility which it has afforded to the industrious and enterprising agriculturist or manufacturer, as well as to the trustees of the public in executing national works, has converted Scotland, from a poor, miserable, and barren country, into one where, if nature has done less, art and industry have done more, than in perhaps any country in Europe, England herself not excepted. Through means of the credit which this system has afforded, roads have been made, bridges built, and canals dug, opening up to reciprocal communication the most sequestered districts of the country —manufactures have been established, unequalled in extent or success—wastes have been converted into productive farms—the productions of the earth for human use have been multiplied twenty-fold, while the wealth of the rich, and the comforts of the poor, have been extended in the same proportion. And all this in a country where the rigour of the climate, and sterility of the soil, seem united to set improvement at defiance. Let those who remember Scotland forty years since bear witness if I speak truth or falsehood.

There is no doubt that this change has been produced by the facilities of procuring credit, which the Scottish banks held forth, both by discounting bills, and by granting cash-accounts. Every undertaking of consequence, whether by the public or by individuals, has been carried on by such means; at least exceptions are extremely rare.

There is as little doubt that the Banks could not have furnished these necessary funds of cash, without enjoying the reciprocal advantage of their own notes being circulated in consequence, and by means of the accommodation thus afforded. It is not to be expected that every undertaking which the system enabled speculators or adventurers to commence, should be well-judged, attentively carried on, or successful in issue. Imprudence in some cases, misfortune in others, have had their usual quantity of victims. But in Scotland, as elsewhere, it has happened in many instances that improvements, which turned out ruinous to those who undertook them, have, notwithstanding, themselves ultimately produced the most beneficial advantages to the country, which derived in such instances an addition to its general prosperity, even from the undertakings which had proved destructive to the private fortune of the projectors.

Not only did the Banks dispersed throughout Scotland afford the means of bringing the country to an unexpected and almost marvellous degree of prosperity, but in no considerable instance, save one, have their own over-speculating undertakings been the means of interrupting that prosperity.

The solitary exception was the undertaking called the Ayr Bank, rashly entered into by a large body of country gentlemen and others, unacquainted with commercial affairs, and who had moreover the misfortune not only to set out on false principles, but to get false rogues for their principal agents and managers. The fall of this Bank brought much calamity on the country; but two things are remarkable in its history: First, that under its too prodigal, yet beneficial influence, a fine county (that of Ayr) was converted from a desert into a fertile land. 2dly, That, though at a distant interval, the Ayr Bank paid all its engagements, and the loss only fell on the original stockholders. The warning was, however, a terrible one, and has been so well attended to in Scotland, that very few attempts seem to have been afterwards made to establish Banks prematurely—that is, where the particular district was not in such an advanced state as to require the support of additional credit; for in every such case, it was judiciously foreseen, the forcing a capital on the district could only lead to wild speculation, instead of supporting solid and promising undertakings.

The character and condition of the persons pursuing the profession, ought to be noticed, however slightly. The Bankers of Scotland have been, generally speaking, *good* men, in the mercantile phrase, showing, by the wealth of which they have died possessed, that their credit was sound; and *good* men also, many of them eminently so, in the more extensive and better sense of the word,

manifesting, by the excellence of their character, the fairness of the means by which their riches were acquired. There may have been, among so numerous a body, men of a different character, fishers in troubled waters, capitalists who sought gain not by the encouragement of fair trade and honest industry, but by affording temporary fuel to rashness or avarice. But the number of upright traders in the profession has narrowed the means of mischief, which such Christian Shylocks would otherwise have possessed. There was loss, there was discredit, in having recourse to such characters, when honest wants could be fairly supplied by upright men, and on liberal terms. Such reptiles have been confined in Scotland to batten upon their proper prey of folly, and feast, like worms, on the corruption in which they are bred.

Since the period of the Ayr Bank, now near half a century, I recollect very few instances of Banking Companies issuing notes, which have become insolvent. One, about thirty years since, was the Merchant Bank of Stirling, which never was in high credit, having been known almost at the time of its commencement by the ominous nick-name of *Black in the West.* Another was within these ten years, the East-Lothian Banking Company, whose affairs had been very ill conducted by a villanous manager. In both cases, the notes were paid up in full. In the latter case, they were taken up by one of the most respectable houses in Edinburgh; so that all the current engagements were paid without the least check to

the circulation of their notes, or inconvenience to poor or rich, who happened to have them in possession. The Union Bank of Falkirk also became insolvent within these fifteen years, but paid up its engagements without much loss to the creditors. Other cases there may have occurred not coming within my recollection; but I think none which made any great sensation, or could at all affect the general confidence of the country in the stability of the system. None of these bankruptcies excited much attention, or as we have seen, caused any considerable loss.

In the present unhappy commercial distress, I have always heard and understood, that the Scottish Banks have done all in their power to alleviate the evils which came thickening on the country; and far from acting illiberally, that they have come forward to support the tottering credit of the commercial world with a frankness which augured the most perfect confidence in their own resources. We have heard of only one provincial Bank being even for a moment in the predicament of suspicion; and of that copartnery the funds and credit were so well understood, that their correspondents in Edinburgh, as in the case of the East Lothian Bank formerly mentioned, at once guaranteed the payment of their notes, and saved the public even from momentary agitation, and individuals from the possibility of distress. I ask what must be the stability of a system of credit, of which such an universal earthquake could not displace or shake even the slightest individual portion?

Thus stands the case in Scotland; and it is clear, any restrictive enactment affecting the Banking system, or their mode of issuing notes, must be adopted in consequence of evils, operating elsewhere perhaps, but certainly unknown in this country.

In England, unfortunately, things have been very different, and the insolvency of many provincial banking companies, of the most established reputation for stability, has greatly distressed the country, and alarmed London itself, from the necessary re-action of their misfortunes upon their correspondents in the capital.

I do not think, sir, that the Advocate of Scotland is called upon to go farther, in order to plead an exemption from any experiment which England may think proper to try to cure her own malady, than to say such malady does not exist in her jurisdiction. It is surely enough to plead, "We are well, our pulse and complexion prove it—let those who are sick take physic." But the opinion of the English Ministers is widely different; for granting our premises, they deny our conclusion.

The peculiar humour of a friend, whom I lost some years ago, is the only one I recollect, which jumps precisely with the reasoning of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My friend was an old Scottish laird, a bachelor and a humorist—wealthy, convivial, and hospitable, and of course having always plenty of company about him. He had a regular custom of swallowing, every night in the world, one of Dr Anderson's pills, for which reasons may be readily

imagined. But it is not so easy to account for his insisting on every one of his guests taking the same medicine; and whether it was by way of patronising the medicine, which is in some sense a national receipt, or whether the mischievous old wag amused himself with anticipating the scenes of delicate embarrassment, which the dispensation sometimes produced in the course of the night, I really cannot even guess. What is equally strange, he pressed this request with a sort of eloquence, which succeeded with every guest. No man escaped, though there were few who did not make resistance. His powers of persuasion would have been invaluable to a minister of state. "What! not one *Leetle Anderson*, to oblige your friend, your host, your entertainer! He had taken one himself—he would take another, if you pleased.—Surely what was good for his complaints must of course be beneficial to yours?" It was in vain you pleaded your being perfectly well,—your detesting the medicine,—your being certain it would not agree with you—none of the apologies were received as valid. You might be warm, pathetic, or sulky, fretful or patient, grave or serious, in testifying your repugnance, but you were equally a doomed man; escape was impossible. Your host was in his turn eloquent,—authoritative,—facetious, argumentative,—precatory,—pathetic, above all, pertinacious. No guest was known to escape the *Leetle Anderson*. The last time I experienced the laird's hospitality, there were present at the evening meal the following catalogue of guests:—a

Bond-street dandy, of the most brilliant water, drawn thither by the temptation of grouse-shooting —a writer from the neighbouring borough (the laird's *Doer*, I believe),—two country lairds, men of reserved and stiff habits—three sheep-farmers, as stiff-necked and stubborn as their own haltered rams—and I, Malachi Malagrowther, not facile or obvious to persuasion. There was also the Esculapius of the vicinity—one who gave, but elsewhere was never known to *take* medicine. All succumbed—each took, after various degrees of resistance, according to his peculiar fashion, his own *Leetle Anderson*. The Doer took a brace. On the event I am silent. None had reason to congratulate himself on his complaisance. The laird has slept with his ancestors for some years, remembered sometimes with a smile on account of his humorous eccentricities, always with a sigh when his surviving friends and neighbours reflect on his kindliness and genuine beneficence. I have only to add, that I hope he has not bequeathed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, otherwise so highly gifted, his invincible powers of persuading folks to take medicine, which their constitutions do not require.

Have I argued my case too high in supposing that the present intended legislative enactment is as inapplicable to Scotland, as a pair of elaborate knee-buckles would be to the dress of a kilted Highlander? I think not.

I understand Lord Liverpool and the Chancellor of the Exchequer distinctly to have admitted the

fact, that no distress whatever had originated in Scotland from the present issuing of small notes of the bankers established there, whether provincial in the strict sense, or sent abroad by branches of the larger establishments settled in the metropolis. No proof can be desired better than the admission of the adversary.

Nevertheless, we have been positively informed by the newspapers that Ministers see no reason why any law adopted on this subject should not be imperative over all his Majesty's dominions, including Scotland, *for uniformity's sake.* In my opinion, they might as well make a law that the Scotsman, for uniformity's sake, should not eat oatmeal, because it is found to give Englishmen the heartburn. If an ordinance prohibiting the oat-cake, can be accompanied with a regulation capable of being enforced, that in future, for uniformity's sake, our moors and uplands shall henceforth bear the purest wheat, I for one have no objection to the regulation. But till Ben-Nevis be level with Norfolkshire, though the natural wants of the two nations may be the same, the extent of these wants, natural or commercial, and the mode of supplying them, must be widely different, let the rule of uniformity be as absolute as it will. The nation which cannot raise wheat, must be allowed to eat oat-bread; the nation which is too poor to retain a circulating medium of the precious metals, must be permitted to supply its place with paper credit; otherwise, they must go without food, and without currency.

If I were called on, Mr Journalist, I think I could give some reasons why the system of banking which has been found well adapted for Scotland is not proper for England, and why there is no reason for inflicting upon us the intended remedy; in other words, why this political balsam of Fierabras, which is to relieve Don Quixote, may have a great chance to poison Sancho. With this view, I will mention briefly some strong points of distinction affecting the comparative credit of the banks in England and in Scotland; and they seem such as to furnish, to one inexperienced in political economics (upon the transcendental doctrines of which so much stress is now laid), very satisfactory reasons for the difference which is not denied to exist betwixt the effects of the same general system in different countries.

In Scotland, almost all Banking Companies consist of a considerable number of persons, many of them men of landed property, whose landed estates, with the burdens legally affecting them, may be learned from the records, for the expense of a few shillings; so that all the world knows, or may know, the general basis on which their credit rests, and the extent of real property, which, independent of their personal means, is responsible for their commercial engagements. In most banking establishments this fund of credit is considerable, in others immense; especially in those where the shares are numerous, and are held in small proportions, many of them by persons of landed estates, whose fortunes, however large, and however small

their share of stock, must be all liable to the engagements of the Bank. In England, as I believe, the number of the partners engaged in a banking concern cannot exceed five; and though of late years their landed property has been declared subject to be attached by their commercial creditors, yet no one can learn, without incalculable trouble, the real value of that land, or with what mortgages it is burdened. Thus, *cæteris paribus*, the English banker cannot make his solvency manifest to the public, therefore cannot expect, or receive, the same unlimited trust, which is willingly and securely reposed in those of the same profession in Scotland.

Secondly, the circulation of the Scottish bank-notes is free and unlimited; an advantage arising from their superior degree of credit. They pass without a shadow of objection through the whole limits of Scotland, and, although they cannot be legally tendered, are current nearly as far as York, in England. Those of English Banking Companies seldom extend beyond a very limited horizon: in two or three stages from the place where they are issued, many of them are objected to, and give perpetual trouble to any traveller who has happened to take them in change on the road. Even the most creditable provincial notes never approach London in a free tide—never circulate like blood to the heart, and from thence to the extremities, but are current within a limited circle; often, indeed, so very limited, that the notes issued in the morning, to use an old simile, fly out like

pigeons from the dovecot, and are sure to return in the evening to the spot which they have left at break of day.

Owing to these causes, and others which I forbear mentioning, the profession of provincial Bankers in England is limited in its regular profits, and uncertain in its returns, to a degree unknown in Scotland; and is, therefore, more apt to be adopted in the south by men of sanguine hopes and bold adventure (both frequently disproportioned to the extent of their capital), who sink in mines, or other hazardous speculations, the funds which their banking credit enables them to command, and deluge the country with notes, which, on some unhappy morning, are found not worth a penny;—as those to whom the foul fiend has given apparent treasures, are said in due time to discover they are only pieces of slate.

I am aware it may be urged, that the restrictions imposed on those English provincial Banks are necessary to secure the supremacy of the Bank of England; on the same principle on which dogs kept near the purlieus of a royal forest, were anciently lamed by the cutting off of one of the claws, to prevent their interfering with the royal sport. This is a very good regulation for England, for what I know; but why should the Scottish institutions, which do not, and cannot, interfere with the influence of the Bank of England, be put on a level with those of which such jealousy is, justly or unjustly, entertained? We receive no benefit from that immense Establishment, which, like a great

oak, overshadows England from Tweed to Cornwall—Why should our national plantations be cut down or cramped for the sake of what affords us neither shade nor shelter, and which besides can take no advantage by the injury done to us? Why should we be subjected to a monopoly, from which we derive no national benefit?

I have only to add, that Scotland has not felt the slightest inconvenience from the want of specie, nay, that it has never been in request among them. A tradesman will take a guinea more unwillingly than a note of the same value—to the peasant the coin is unknown. No one ever wishes for specie save when upon a journey to England. In occasional runs upon particular houses, the notes of other Banking Companies have always been the value asked for—no holder of these notes ever demanded specie. The credit of one establishment might be doubted for the time—that of the general system was never brought into question. Even Avarice, the most suspicious of passions, has in no instance I ever heard of, desired to compose her hoards by an accumulation of the precious metals. The confidence in the credit of our ordinary medium has not been doubted even in the dreams of the most irritable and jealous of human passions.

All these considerations are so obvious, that a statesman so acute as Mr Robinson must have taken them in at the first glance, and must at the same time have deemed them of no weight, compared with the necessary conformity between the laws of

the two kingdoms. I must, therefore, speak to the justice of this point of uniformity.

Sir, my respected ancestor, Sir Mungo, when he had the distinguished honour to be *whipping*, or rather, *whipped boy*, to his Majesty James the Sixth of gracious memory, was always, in virtue of his office, scourged when the King deserved flogging; and the same equitable rule seems to distinguish the conduct of Government towards Scotland, as one of the three United Kingdoms. If Pat is guilty of peculation, Sister Peg loses her Boards of Revenue—if John Bull's cashiers mismanage his money-matters, those who have conducted Sister Margaret's to their own great honour, and her no less advantage, must be deprived of the power of serving her in future; at least that power must be greatly restricted and limited.

"Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi."

That is to say, if our superiors of England and Ireland eat sour grapes, the Scottish teeth must be set on edge as well as their own. An uniformity in benefits may be well—an uniformity in penal measures, towards the innocent and the guilty, in prohibitory regulations, whether necessary or not, seems harsh law, and worse justice.

This levelling system, not equitable in itself, is infinitely unjust, if a story, often told by my poor old grandfather, was true, which I own I am inclined to doubt. The old man, sir, had learned in

his youth, or dreamed in his dotage, that Scotland had become an integral part of England,—not in right of conquest, or rendition, or through any right of inheritance,—but in virtue of a solemn Treaty of Union. Nay, so distinct an idea had he of this supposed Treaty, that he used to recite one of its articles to this effect:—"That the laws in use within the kingdom of Scotland, do, after the Union, remain in the same force as before, but alterable by the Parliament of Great Britain, with this difference between the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, and those which concern private right, that the former may be made the same through the whole United Kingdom; but that no alteration be made on laws which concern private right, *excepting for the evident utility of the subjects within Scotland.*" When the old gentleman came to the passage, which you will mark in italics, he always clenched his fist, and exclaimed, "*Nemo me impune lacessit!*" which I presume, are words belonging to the black art, since there is no one in the Modern Athens conjurer enough to understand their meaning, or at least to comprehend the spirit of the sentiment which my grandfather thought they conveyed.

I cannot help thinking, sir, that if there had been any truth in my grandfather's story, some Scottish Member would, on the late occasion, have informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, in virtue of this treaty, it was no sufficient reason for innovating upon the private rights of Scotsmen in a

most tender and delicate point, merely that the Right Honourable Gentleman saw no reason why the same law should not be current through the whole of his Majesty's dominions; and that, on the contrary, it was incumbent upon him to go a step further, and to show that the alteration proposed *was* for the EVIDENT UTILITY *of the subjects within Scotland*,—a proposition disavowed by the Right Honourable Gentleman's candid admission, as well as by that of the Prime Minister, and contradicted in every circumstance by the actual state of the case.

Methinks, sir, our "Chosen Five-and-Forty," supposing they had bound themselves to Ministers by such oaths of silence and obedience, as are taken by Carthusian friars, must have had free-will and speech to express their sentiments, had they been possessed of so irrefragable an argument in such a case of extremity. The sight of a father's life in danger is said to have restored the power of language to the dumb; and truly, the necessary defence of the rights of our native country is not, or at least ought not to be, a less animating motive. Lord Lauderdale almost alone interfered, and procured, to his infinite honour, a delay of six months in the extension of this act,—a sort of reprieve from the southern *jougs*,—by which we may have some chance of profiting, if, during the interval, we can show ourselves true Scotsmen, by some better proof than merely by being "wise behind the hand."

In the first place, sir, I would have this Old

Treaty searched for, and should it be found to be still existing, I think it decides the question. For, how can it be possible, that it should be for the "evident utility" of Scotland to alter her laws of private right, to the total subversion of a system under which she is admitted to have flourished for a century, and which has never within North Britain been attended with the inconveniences charged against it in the sister country, where, by the way, it never existed? Even if the old parchment should be voted obsolete, there would be some satisfaction in having it looked out and preserved —not in the Register-Office, or Advocates' Library, where it might awaken painful recollections —but in the Museum of the Antiquaries, where, with the Solemn League and Covenant, the Letter of the Scottish Nobles to the Pope on the independence of their country, and other antiquated documents once held in reverence, it might silently contract dust, yet remain to bear witness that such things had been.

I earnestly hope, however, that an international league of such importance may still be found obligatory on both the *high* and the *low* contracting parties; on that which has the power, and apparently the will, to break it, as well as on the weaker nation, who cannot, without incurring still worse, and more miserable consequences, oppose aggression, otherwise than by invoking the faith of treaties, and the national honour of Old England.

In the second place, all ranks and bodies of men

in North Britain (for all are concerned, the poor as well as the rich), should express by petition their sense of the injustice which is offered to the country, and the distress which will probably be the necessary consequence. Without the power of issuing their own notes, the Banks cannot supply the manufacturer with that credit which enables him to pay his workmen, and wait his return; or accommodate the farmer with that fund which makes it easy for him to discharge his rent, and give wages to his labourers, while in the act of performing expensive operations which are to treble or quadruple the produce of his farm. The trustees on the high-roads and other public works, so ready to stake their personal credit for carrying on public improvements, will no longer possess the power of raising funds by doing so. The whole existing state of credit is to be altered from top to bottom, and Ministers are silent on any remedy which such a state of things would imperiously require.

These are subjects worth struggling for, and rather of more importance than generally come before County Meetings. The English legislature seems inclined to stultify our Law Authorities in their department; but let us at least try if they will listen to the united voice of a Nation in matters which so intimately concern its welfare, that almost every man must have formed a judgment on the subject, from something like personal experience. For my part, I cannot doubt the result.

Times are undoubtedly different from those of

Queen Anne, when Dean Swift having, in a political pamphlet, passed some sarcasms on the Scottish nation, as a poor and fierce people—the Scythians of Britain—the Scottish peers, headed by the Duke of Argyle, went in a body to the ministers, and compelled them to disown the sentiments which had been expressed by their partisan, and offer a reward of L.300 for the author of the libel, well known to be the best advocate and most intimate friend of the existing administration. They demanded also, that the printer and publisher should be prosecuted before the House of Peers; and Harley, however unwillingly, was obliged to yield to their demand.

In the celebrated case of Porteous, the English legislature saw themselves compelled to desist from vindictive measures, on account of a gross offence committed in the metropolis of Scotland. In that of the Roman Catholic bill, they yielded to the voice of the Scottish people, or rather of the Scottish mob, and declared the proposed alteration of the law should not extend to North Britain. The cases were different, in point of merit, though the Scots were successful in both. In the one, a boon of clemency was extorted; in the other, concession was an act of decided weakness. But ought the present administration of Great Britain to show less deference to our temperate and general remonstrance, on a matter concerning ourselves only, than their predecessors did to the passions, and even the ill-founded and unjust prejudices, of our ancestors?

Times, indeed, have changed since those days, and circumstances also. We are no longer a poor, that is, so *very poor* a country and people; and as we have increased in wealth, we have become somewhat poorer in spirit, and more loath to incur displeasure by contests upon mere etiquette, or national prejudice. But we have some grounds to plead for favour with England. We have borne our pecuniary impositions, during a long war, with a patience the more exemplary, as they lay heavier on us from our comparative want of means—our blood has flowed as freely as that of England or of Ireland—our lives and fortunes have been as unhesitatingly devoted to the defence of the empire—our loyalty as warmly and willingly displayed towards the person of our Sovereign. We have consented with submission, if not with cheerfulness, to reductions and abolitions of public offices, required for the good of the state at large, but which must affect materially the condition, and even the respectability, of our over-burdened aristocracy. We have in every respect conducted ourselves as good and faithful subjects of the general empire.

We do not boast of these things as actual merits; but they are at least duties discharged, and in an appeal to men of honour and of judgment, must entitle us to be heard with patience, and even deference, on the management of our own affairs, if we speak unanimously, lay aside party feeling, and use the voice of one leaf of the holy Trefoil—one distinct and component part of the united kingdoms.

Let no consideration deter us from pleading our

own cause temperately but firmly, and we shall certainly receive a favourable audience. Even our acquisition of a little wealth, which might abate our courage on other occasions, should invigorate us to unanimous perseverance at the present crisis, when the very source of our national prosperity is directly, though unwittingly, struck at. Our plaids are, I trust, not yet sunk into Jewish gaberdines, to be wantonly spit upon; nor are we yet bound to "receive the insult with a patient shrug." But exertion is now demanded on other accounts than those of mere honourable punctilio. Misers themselves will struggle in defence of their property, though tolerant of all aggressions by which that is not threatened. Avarice herself, however mean-spirited, will rouse to defend the wealth she possesses, and preserve the means of gaining more. Scotland is now called upon to rally in defence of the sources of her national improvement, and the means of increasing it; upon which, as none are so much concerned in the subject, none can be such competent judges as Scotsmen themselves.

I cannot believe so generous a people as the English, so wise an administration as the present, will disregard our humble remonstrances, merely because they are made in the form of peaceful entreaty, and not *secundum perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, with "durk and pistol at our belt." It would be a dangerous lesson to teach the empire at large, that threats can extort what is not yielded to reasonable and respectful remonstrance.

But this is not all. The principle of "unifor-

mity of laws," if not manfully withstood, may have other blessings in store for us. Suppose, that when finished with blistering Scotland while she is in perfect health, England should find time and courage to withdraw the veil from the deep cancer which is gnawing her own bowels, and make an attempt to stop the fatal progress of her *poor-rates*. Some system or other must be proposed in its place—a grinding one it must be, for it is not an evil to be cured by palliatives. Suppose the English, for uniformity's sake, insist that Scotland, which is at present free from this foul and shameful disorder, should nevertheless be included in the severe *treatment* which the disease demands, how would the landholders of Scotland like to undergo the scalpel and cautery, merely because England requires to be scarified?

Or again;—Supposing England should take a fancy to impart to us her sanguinary criminal code, which, too cruel to be carried into effect, gives every wretch that is condemned a chance of one to twelve that he shall not be executed, and so turns the law into a lottery—would this be an agreeable boon to North Britain?

Once more;—What if the English ministers should feel disposed to extend to us their equitable system of process respecting civil debt, which divides the advantages so admirably betwixt debtor and creditor—*That* equal dispensation of justice, which provides that an imprisoned debtor, if a rogue, may remain in undisturbed possession, of a great landed estate, and enjoy in a jail all the

luxuries of Sardanapalus, while the wretch to whom he owes money is starving; and that, to balance the matter, a creditor, if cruel, may detain a debtor in prison for a lifetime, and make, as the established phrase goes, *dice of his bones*—Would this admirable reciprocity of privilege, indulged alternately to knave and tyrant, please Saunders better than his own humane action of Cessio, and his equitable process of Adjudication?

I will not insist farther on such topics, for I dare say, that these apparent enormities in principle are, in England where they have operation, modified and corrected in practice by circumstances unknown to me; so that, in passing judgment on them, I may myself fall into the error I deprecate, of judging of foreign laws without being aware of all the premises. Neither do I mean that we should struggle with illiberality against any improvements which can be borrowed from English principle. I would only desire that such ameliorations were adopted, not merely because they are English, but because they are suited to be assimilated with the laws of Scotland, and lead, in short, *to her evident utility*, and this on the principle, that in transplanting a tree, little attention need be paid to the character of the climate and soil from which it is brought, although the greatest care must be taken that those of the situation to which it is transplanted are fitted to receive it. It would be no reason for planting mulberry-trees in Scotland, that they luxuriate in the south of England. There is sense in the old proverb, "Ilk land has its ain lauch."

In the present case, it is impossible to believe the extension of these restrictions to Scotland can be for the *evident utility* of the country, which has prospered so long and so uniformly under directly the contrary system.

It is very probable I may be deemed illiberal in all this reasoning; but if to look for information to practical results, rather than to theoretical principles, and to argue from the effect of the experience of a century, rather than the deductions of a modern hypothesis, be illiberality, I must sit down content with a censure, which will include wiser men than I. The philosophical tailors of Laputa, who wrought by mathematical calculation, had, no doubt, a supreme contempt for those humble fashioners who went to work by measuring the person of their customer; but Gulliver tells us, that the worst clothes he ever wore were constructed upon abstract principles; and truly I think we have seen some laws, and may see more, not much better adapted to existing circumstances, than the captain's philosophical uniform to his actual person.

It is true, that every wise statesman keeps sound and general political principles in his eye, as the pilot looks upon his compass to discover his true course. But this true course cannot always be followed out straight and diametrically; it must be altered from time to time, nay, sometimes apparently abandoned, on account of shoals, breakers, and headlands, not to mention contrary winds. The same obstacles occur to the course of the

statesman. The point at which he aims may be important, the principle on which he steers may be just; yet the obstacles arising from rooted prejudices, from intemperate passions, from ancient practices, from a different character of people, from varieties in climate and soil, may cause a direct movement upon his ultimate object to be attended with distress to individuals, and loss to the community, which no good man would wish to occasion, and with dangers which no wise man would voluntarily choose to encounter.

Although I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been rather precipitate in the decided opinion which he is represented to have expressed on this occasion, I am far from entertaining the slightest disrespect for the right honourable gentleman. "I hear as good exclamation upon him as on any man in Messina, and though I am but a poor man, I am glad to hear it." But a decided attachment to abstract principle, and to a spirit of generalizing, is—like a rash rider on a headstrong horse—very apt to run foul of local obstacles, which might have been avoided by a more deliberate career, where the nature of the ground had been previously considered.

I make allowance for the temptation natural to an ingenious and active mind. There is a natural pride in following out an universal and levelling principle. It seems to augur genius, force of conception, and steadiness of purpose; qualities which every legislator is desirous of being thought to possess. On the other hand, the study of local

advantages and impediments demands labour and enquiry, and is rewarded after all only with the cold and parsimonious praise due to humble industry. It is no less true, however, that measures which go straight and direct to a great general object, without noticing intervening impediments, must often resemble the fierce progress of the thunderbolt or the cannon-ball, those dreadful agents, which, in rushing right to their point, care not what ruin they make by the way. The sounder and more moderate policy, accommodating its measures to exterior circumstances, rather resembles the judicious course of a well-conducted highway, which, turning aside frequently from its direct course,

"Winds round the corn-field and the hill of vines,"

and becomes devious, that it may respect property and avoid obstacles; thus escaping even temporary evils, and serving the public no less in its more circuitous, than it would have done in its direct course.

Can you tell me, sir, if this *uniformity* of civil institutions, which calls for such sacrifices, be at all descended from, or related to, a doctrine nearly of the same name, called Conformity in religious doctrine, very fashionable about 150 years since, which undertook to unite the jarring creeds of the United Kingdom to one common standard, and excited a universal strife by the vain attempt, and a thousand fierce disputes, in which she

——————"umpire sate,
And by decision more embroil'd the fray?"

Should Uniformity have the same pedigree, Malachi Malagrowther proclaims her "a hawk of a very bad nest."

The universal opinion of a whole kingdom, founded upon a century's experience, ought not to be lightly considered as founded in ignorance and prejudice. I am something of an agriculturist; and in travelling through the country, I have often had occasion to wonder that the inhabitants of particular districts had not adopted certain obvious improvements in cultivation. But, upon enquiry, I have usually found that appearances had deceived me, and that I had not reckoned on particular local circumstances, which either prevented the execution of the system I should have theoretically recommended, or rendered some other more advantageous in the particular circumstances.

I do not therefore resist theoretical innovation in general; I only humbly desire it may not outrun the suggestions arising from the experience of ages. I would have the necessity felt and acknowledged before old institutions are demolished—the *evident utility* of every alteration demonstrated before it is adopted upon mere speculation. I submit our ancient system to the pruning-knife of the legislature, but would not willingly see our reformers employ a weapon, which, like the sword of Jack the Giant-Killer, *cuts before the point.*

It is always to be considered, that in human affairs, the very best imaginable result is seldom to be obtained, and that it is wise to content ourselves with the best which can be got. This prin-

ciple speaks with a voice of thunder against violent innovation, for the sake of possible improvement, where things are already well. We ought not to desire better bread than is made of wheat. Our Scottish proverb warns us to *let weel bide;* and all the world has heard of the untranslateable Italian epitaph upon the man, who died of taking physic to make him better, when he was already in health.

I am, Mr Journalist,

Yours,

MALACHI MALAGROWTHER.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since writing these hasty thoughts, I hear it reported that we are to have an extension of our precarious reprieve, and that our six months are to be extended to six years. I would not have Scotland trust to this hollow truce. The measure ought, like all others, to be canvassed on its merits, and frankly admitted or rejected; it has been stirred, and ought to be decided. I request my countrymen not to be soothed into inactivity by that temporizing, and, I will say, unmanly vacillation. Government is pledged to nothing by taking an open course; for if the bill, so far as applicable to Scotland, is at present absolutely laid aside, there can be no objection to their resuming it at

any period, when, from change of circumstances, it may be advantageous to Scotland, and when, for what I know, it may be welcomed as a boon.

But if held over our heads as a minatory measure, to take place within a certain period, what can the event be but to cripple and ultimately destroy the present system, on which a direct attack is found at present inexpedient? Can the Bankers continue to conduct their profession on the same secure footing, with an abrogation of it in prospect? Must it not cease to be what it has hitherto been —a business carried on both for their own profit, and for the accommodation of the country? Instead of employing their capital in the usual channels, must they not in self-defence employ it in forming others? Will not the substantial and wealthy withdraw their funds from that species of commerce? And may not the place of these be supplied by men of daring adventure, without corresponding capital, who will take a chance of wealth or ruin in the evolutions of the game?

If it is the absolute and irrevocable determination that the bill is to be extended to us, the sooner the great penalty is inflicted the better; for in politics and commerce, as in all the other affairs of life, absolute and certain evil is better than uncertainty and protracted suspense.

LETTER II.

February 28, 1826.

DEAR MR JOURNALIST,

When I last wrote to you, I own it was with the feelings of one who discharges a painful duty, merely because he feels it to be one, and without much hope of his endeavour being useful. Swift says that kingdoms may be subject to poverty and lowness of heart as well as individuals; and that in such moments they become reckless of their own interests, and contract habits of submission, which encourage those who wish to take advantage of them to prefer the most unreasonable pretensions. It was when Esau came from the harvest, faint, and at point to die, that Jacob proposed to him his exorbitant bargain of the mess of pottage. There is a deep and typical mystery under the scriptural transaction; but, taken as a simple fact, the sottish facility of the circumvented heir rather aggravates the unfeeling selfishness of the artful brother, to whom he was made a dupe. The "whoreson Apoplexy" of Scotland may be rather a case of repletion than exhaustion, but it has the same dispiriting effects.

Yet, into whatever deep and passive slumber our native country may have been lulled from

habits of peaceful acquiescence, the Government have now found a way to awaken her. The knife has gone to the very quick, and the comatose patient is roused to most acute possession of his feelings and his intellect. The heather is on fire far and wide; and every man, woman, and child in the country, are bound by the duty they owe to their native land, to spread the alarm and increase the blaze.

——— Jam proximus ardet
Ucalegon———

The city of Edinburgh has uttered a voice becoming the ancient Queen of the North. The Law Bodies, and the Gentry of Mid-Lothian, have set the example of petitioning Government, and proclaiming their sense of the measure designed; it has been followed in other counties, and I trust to see it soon spread into the smallest burghs, into the most wild districts of Scotland. There are none which the impending misery will not reach—there are no Scotchmen so humble that they have not a share in a national insult, so lowly that they will not suffer from a national wrong—none that are uninterested in maintaining our rights both individually, and as a people—and none, I trust, that have not spirit to do so, by all legal and peaceable means.

I congratulate you, sir, on the awakened spirit of our representatives in the two Houses of Parliament. Our true-hearted Duke of Athole, and Lord Lauderdale, whose acuteness and powers of thinking and reasoning may, without disparage-

ment, be compared with those of any statesman now living, have set an example not to be forgotten; and we know that the slender proportion of aristocracy, which Scotland was left in possession of at the Union, entertain the same patriotic sentiments. We are equally assured of the faith of our representatives in the Lower House, and they on their part may believe they will not serve an ungrateful public. Scotland expects from them the exertions corresponding to their high trust—a trust of which they must render an account to their constituents, and that very shortly. Let every body of electors, from Dumfries to Dingwall, instruct its representative upon their own sentiments, and upon the conduct which they desire he should hold during this great national crisis; and let the Administration be aware, that if any of our members should desert the public cause on this occasion, they are not like to have the benefit of their implicit homage in the next Parliament. Burns's address to them in jest, is language which may now be held to the Scottish representatives in serious earnest:—

> "Does ony great man glunch and gloom,
> Speak out and never fash your thumb;
> Let posts and pensions sink or soom
> Wi' those wha grant them;
> If honestly they cannot come,
> Far better want them."

I have been told by some cautious friends, that the time for such remonstrances as I do most earnestly recommend to our Scottish representatives, would be now more unfavourable than formerly—so

unfavourable, that they represent the case as desperate. Admitting all I had said in my first epistle, these *douce* men see no resource but in the most submissive acquiescence to the commands of those in whose breasts, they say, is now lodged the uncontrolled power to listen to reason, justice, nay, compassion, or to prefer the exercise of their own pleasure to the dictates of them all. Your birthright, proceed these Job's comforters, will be taken from you at all events by superior numbers. Yield it up, therefore, with a good grace, and thank God if they give you a mess of pottage in return—it will be just so much gain. These desponding persons explain the state of total insignificance into which, they say, we have fallen, by a reference to the Irish Union, which has added an hundred more members to Parliament; so that the handful assigned to Scotland (which never possessed a very influential power in the House, so far as numbers go), must now altogether lose consideration, in opposition to the majorities of a peremptory Minister, who, like the "merciless Macdonald,"

> "from the *Western Isle*,
> With Kernes and Gallow-glasses is supplied."

It requires but little arithmetic to compute, that the fated number, forty-five, bears a less proportion to six hundred and thirteen than to five hundred and thirteen, the number of the House of Commons at the time of the Scottish Union. Yet, sir, I am not altogether discouraged with this comfortless prospect. I think I can see means of relief

arising even out of the very difficulties of the case. Let us regard the matter somewhat more closely.

In the first place, I will consider what we can do by our present Scottish representation,—our own proper force. Next, I will have a friendly word or two with those same auxiliaries of Ireland, whom, perhaps, the Sassenagh may find less implicit followers in the present case, than my chicken-hearted advisers apprehend. Lastly, I will address myself to the English members, and especially to such who, on great occasions, prefer the exercise of their own understanding to an absolute and obsequious deference to the dictates of an administration, however much they may respect the statesmen of whom it is composed, or are disposed to acquiesce in the general principles on which they act.

Upon the first point I beg to remind you, that much greater effect is derived from the decided, conjoined, and simultaneous exertion of a comparatively small force, than from the efforts of a more numerous body, not bound together by the same strong ties of duty and necessity. Battles have been often gained, and political measures have been as frequently carried, by the determined urgency, or no less determined resistance, of a comparatively insignificant number.

Nos numerus sumus, is a logical argument perfectly understood by an English minister, and has had great weight in the scale. I will give a ludicrous instance of this. There was of old a certain nobleman, who, by means of certain boroughs, sent

certain members to Westminster, which members, being there, were certain to hold the same opinions with the Noble Lord, and to vote in the House of Commons exactly to the same tune as his lordship in the House of Peers. The Great Man, who was the animating soul of this Holy Alliance, had occasion to ask some favour of Government. It was probably something very unreasonable—at any rate, it was so disagreeable to the minister, that, I am told, he would as soon have relished the proposal of giving silver for a twenty-shilling note of the Bank of Scotland. The Minister made civil excuses—the peer observed in reply—*We are seven votes.*—The minister stopped, cleared his throat, changed his argument.—*We are seven voices*, was again the only answer.—The Great Man, usually flattered, became flatterer in his turn—he conjured—he even threatened.—The peer was as unassailable, in his numerical proposition, by entreaty or argument, as the sweet little rustic girl in a poem which it is almost a sin to parody—

> "Whate'er the minister could say,
> The Noble Lord would have his way,
> And said, *Nay, we are seven.*"

They parted on these terms. The Minister retired to rest, and dreamed that he saw the pertinacious Peer advancing to storm the cabinet, after having, like the great magician Kehama, broke himself up into seven subdivisions of equal strength, and by means of this extraordinary process of multiplication, advancing to his daring enterprise by seven avenues at once. The vision was too

horrible—and a "private and confidential" note gave the necessary assurance to the Noble Lord, that the magical number Seven had as much weight in Saint Stephen's, as Dr Slop assigns to it in the Catholic mysteries; so the seven planets continued to move regularly in their political orbit.

This is a strong proof, sir, of the *vis unita fortior*, and contains a good lesson for our Representatives upon the present occasion. It would be strange, indeed, if they, to whom their country has given her confidence, should hesitate to save her from dishonour and deep distress, which may approach nigh to ruin [I will make my words good before I have done], when it is only necessary that they should be as determined and inflexible, where the safety of an ancient kingdom is concerned, as the selfish old borough-jobber and his political friends showed themselves pertinacious, in pursuit of some wretched personal object of private advantage.

The Scottish members of Parliament should therefore lose no time—not an instant—in uniting together in their national character of the Representatives of Scotland. If the scene were to be the British Coffeehouse, the hour half-past six o'clock P.M., and the preliminaries of business a few glasses of claret to national toasts, I should not have the worse opinion of the sense of the meeting. Their first resolution should be, to lay aside every party distinction which can interfere with the present grand object, of arresting a danger so evident, so general, so imminent. It

may be at first an awkward thing for Whig and Tory to draw kindly together; for any of the natural Scottish spirit which is left among us has been sadly expended in feeding a controversy in which we must always play a subordinate part, and these party distinctions have become far too much a matter of habit to us on both sides to be easily laid aside. Indeed, we poor Scotsmen are so conscious that our civil wars are but paltry and obscure episodes in the great political quarrel, that we have usually endeavoured to attract attention, and excite an idea of their importance, by the personal violence and noisy ferocity with which we wage them. We, the Whigs and Tories of Scotland, have played in our domestic quarrels the respectable part of two bull-dogs, who think it necessary to go by the ears under the table, because their blue-sleeved beef-eating masters have turned up for a set-to. The quadrupeds worry each other inveterately, while not a soul notices them till the strife of the bipeds is appeased or decided, and then the bleeding and foaming curs are kicked separate by their respective owners. We play among the great *dramatis personæ* the part of *Mob on both sides*, who enter and scuffle in the back scene, and shout so that their cries at least may be heard, since no one will attend to any thing which they say in articulate language. You may have been a bottle-holder of this kind, Mr Journalist, to one or other of the great parties. I am sure I have, and I daresay may have sometimes made mischief, though I have oftener

endeavoured to prevent it; for, like the good knight Jacques de Lalain, "*De feu bouter ne voulois-je être consentant.*" Still, however limited my share may have been in those jars, I have lived to see the day when I must regret bitterly my having had the slightest accession to them, could I conceive the opinions of so obscure an individual may have added gall to the bitterness which has estranged Scotsmen from each other. Let these follies be ended; and do not let us, like our ancestors at Falkirk, fall to jealousies among ourselves, when heart, and voice, and hand, should be united against the foreign *enemy*. I was about to erase the last word; but let it remain, with this explanation—that the purpose of this invasion of our rights is acknowledged to be kind and friendly; but as the measure is unauthorized by justice, conducted without regard to the faith of treaties, and contrary to our national privileges, we cannot but term the enterprise a hostile one. When Henry VIII. despatched a powerful invading army to compel the Scots to give the hand of their young Queen Mary to his son Edward, an old Scottish nobleman shrewdly observed, "He might like the match well enough, but could not brook the mode of wooing." We equally are sensible of England's good-will, we only do not relish the mode in which it is at present exhibited.

The Scottish Members having thus adopted a healing ordinance, reconciled their party quarrels or laid them aside for the time, would by that very act decide the fate of their country; and when

drinking to concord among Scotsmen of all political opinions,

> " In the cup an *Union* shall they throw
> Better than that which four successive kings
> In Britain's crown have worn."

Thus united, sir, their task will be a very easy one. Let each, in his own style, and with the degree of talent, from plain common sense up to powerful eloquence, with which he chances to be gifted, state to Administration the sentiments of his constituents, and those of his own breast; let it be perfectly understood that the representatives of Scotland speak in the name of their country, and are determined, one and all, to see the threatened and obnoxious measure departed from, and till that time to enter into no public business,—I cannot help thinking that such a remonstrance, in a case of vital importance to Scotland, and of such trifling consequence to England, would be of itself perfectly sufficient. But if not, our representatives must stand firm. I would advise that, to all such intimations as are usually circulated, bearing, " That your presence is earnestly requested on such an evening of the debate, as such or such a public measure is coming on," the concise answer should be returned, " *We are five-and-forty;*" and that no Scottish members do on such occasions attend—unless it be those who feel themselves conscientiously at liberty to vote against Government on the division. Is this expecting too much from our countrymen, on whom we have devolved so abso-

lutely the charge of our rights, the duty of stating our wrongs? We exclaim to them in the language of the eloquent Lord Belhaven—" Should not the memory of our noble predecessors' valour and constancy rouse up our drooping spirits? Are our brave ancestors' souls got so far into the English cabbage-stock and cauliflower, that we should show the least inclination that way? Are our eyes so blinded—Are our ears so deafened—Are our hearts so hardened—Are our tongues so faltered—Are our hands so fettered, that, in this our day—I say, my countrymen, in this our day, we should not mind the things that concern the well-being, nay, the very being, of our ancient kingdom, before the day be hid from our eyes?" If there is, among that chosen band, a mean-spirited Scotsman, who prefers the orders of the minister to the unanimous voice of his country, imploring the protection of her children, let England keep him to herself. Such a man is deaf even to the voice of self-interest, as well as of patriotism. He cannot be a Scotch proprietor—he hazards his own rents; he cannot be a Scotsman employed in commerce—he undermines his own trade; he cannot be a professional person—he sacrifices the law of his country; he cannot be a Scottish man in spirit—he betrays the honour of Scotland. Let him go out from among us—he is not of us. Let him, I say, remain in England, and we wish her joy of such a denizen. Let him have his title and his pension—for the cur deserves his collar and his bone. But do not let him come back to Scotland, where his presence

will be as unwelcome to us, as our reception may be ungratifying to him.

It is needless to say, that what Scotland demands from her representatives in the House of Commons, she expects, with equal confidence and ardour, from the small, but honourable portion of the Upper House, who draw their honours from her ancient domains. Their ancestors have led her armies, concluded her treaties, managed her government, served her with hand and heart, sword and pen; and by such honourable merit with their country, have obtained the titles and distinctions which they have transmitted to the present race, by whom, we are well assured, they will be maintained with untarnished honour. A Scottish lord will dare all, save what is dishonourable; and whom among them could we suspect of deserting the Parent of his Honours, at the very moment when she is calling upon him for his filial aid? Sir, I pledge myself, ere I am done, to give such a picture of the impending distress of this country, that a Scotsman, and especially a Scottish nobleman, would need to take opium and mandragora, should he hope to slumber, after having been accessary to bringing it on. If the voice of the public in streets and highways did not cry shame on his degeneracy, even inanimate objects would find a voice of reprobation. The stones of his ancient castle would speak, and the portraits of his ancestors would frown and look black upon him, as he wandered in his empty halls, now deprived of the resort of the rich, and the homage of the vassal.

But I have no fear of this. A little indolence—a little indifference—may have spread itself among our young men of rank; it is the prevailing fashion and fault of the day. But the trumpet of war has always chased away such lethargic humours; and the cry of their common country, that invocation which Scotland now sends forth from one end of the land to the other, is a summons yet more imperious, and will be, I am confident, as promptly obeyed.

It may be said, that the measures which I venture to recommend to our Scottish representatives, of tacking, as it were, their Petition of Rights, to every other measure, and making it, so far as they can, a *sine qua non* to their accommodation with Government, may be the means of interrupting the general business of the empire.

To this objection I reply, *First*, that I only recommend such a line of conduct as an *ultimum remedium*, after every other and milder mode of seeking redress shall have been resorted to, and exhausted without effect. *Secondly*, In case of need it cannot be denied, that the plan proposed is a Parliamentary remedy, and corresponds with the conduct of patriots upon former occasions, when they conceived that the magnitude of the object in view warranted their making the most vigorous efforts to obtain it. *Thirdly*, It will not be difficult to demonstrate, that, whatever prejudice may be suffered from a temporary delay of other business, it will be incalculably less than the evil, which will infallibly ensue upon the obnoxious measure in

question being adopted; an evil, the effect of which cannot be confined to Scotland alone (for no component part of the empire can have sufferings so local, that the consequences do not extend to the others), but must reach England and Ireland also. When a limb of the human body is disjointed or broken, the whole frame must feel the effect of it.

But to return to the opinion of my cautious friends, who believed that the proportional numbers of the Scottish Members being so small, compared to those of England and Ireland, no good issue could be hoped from their exertions, however united, however zealous. I reply, that their country is entitled to expect from them resistance in her behalf, not only while a spark of hope remains, but when that last spark is extinguished. There is no room for compromise or surrender. Our statesmen of to-day must be like our soldiers in ages past—

> "They must fight till their hand to the broadsword is glued,
> They must fight against fortune with heart unsubdued."

If they do so, not only will they play the part of true men and worthy patriots, but they will procure that sort of weight with their constituents, which will enable them to be useful, and, with the blessing of God, effectual mediators, in what, I fear, is likely to prove a very distracted time and country.

But besides this, I can tell my timorous friends, as Hotspur does his cautious correspondent,—"Out of this nettle Danger we pluck the flower Safety." I do not think the Imperial Parliament

consisting, as it now does, of deputies from every kingdom of the Union, is so likely to take a hasty and partial view of any appeal from Scotland, as it might have been when we had to plead our cause before the Parliament of Great Britain only. I trust we should in no case have been treated unjustly or harshly, and I will presently state my reasons for thinking that we should not; but arguing the question on the illiberal and almost calumnious idea, that, if not confuted in argument, we were in danger to be borne down by force of numbers, I should derive hope, not fear, from the introduction of the third Kingdom into the discussion.

Betwixt Scotland and England, Mr Journalist, there have been, as you are aware, ancient causes of quarrel, lulled to sleep during the last fifty years, until of late, when a variety of small aggressions, followed by the present seven-leagued stride, show that perhaps they have not been so fully forgotten by our neighbours as we thought in our simplicity, and that the English Ministers may not be indisposed to take the opportunity of our torpidity to twitch out our fang-teeth, however necessary for eating our victuals, in case we should be inclined, at some unlucky moment, to make a different use of them. Or, the line of conduct of which we complain, may be compared to a well-known operation resorted to for taming the ferocity of such male animals as are intended for domestication, and to be employed in patient drudgery. The animal becomes fat, patient, sleek,

and in so far is benefited by the operation; but had his previous consent been required, I wonder what the poor Scotch stot would have said?

Patrick, my warm-hearted and shrewd friend, how should you like this receipt for domestication, should it travel your way? You have your own griefs, and your own subjects of complaint,—are you willing to lose the power of expressing them with energy? You have only to join with the Ministry on this debate—you have only to show in what light reverence you are willing to hold the articles of an Union not much above a century old, and then you will have time to reflect at leisure upon the consequences of such an example. In such a case, when your turn comes (and come, be sure, it will), you will have signed your own sentence. You will have given the fatal precedent to England of the annihilation of a solemn treaty of incorporating Union, and afforded the representatives of Scotland vindictive reasons for retaliating upon you the injury which you aided England in inflicting upon us. Whereas—step this way, Pat—and see there is nobody listening—why should not you and we have a friendly understanding, and assist each other, as the weaker parties, against any aggressions, which may be made upon either of us, "for uniformity's sake?"—Your fathers are called by our Scottish kings, "Their ancient friends of the Erischerie of Eirland," and for my part I have little doubt that Malachi, who wore the collar of gold, must have been an ancestor of my own. Now, what say you to a league offensive and de-

fensive, against all such measures as tend to the suppression of any just right belonging to either country, in virtue of the Articles of Union respectively?—You are a scholar, Pat—

"*Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*"

Between ourselves, Patrick, John Bull is, not unnaturally, desirous of having rather more than his own share in managing the great national coach-and-six. He will drive four-in-hand; and though he has hitherto allowed you a postilion of your own, yet in some scheme of economy he may dismiss him if you do not look sharp, and drive the whole set of six horses himself. It is different portions of their ancient independence which are reserved to Scotland and Ireland by their respective treaties of union. Scotland retained her ancient laws, and Ireland a typical representation of her national sovereignty. But both rights are held by the same tenure, and if Ireland set an example, by aiding a gross infringement of the Scottish Union—if she aid England, in destroying for mere humour—I beg pardon, for mere "uniformity's sake,"—every little mark of independence which is left us—if she countenance the obvious desire which exhibits itself to break down all peculiar privileges due to the separate nations of the union, to engross the whole management in Boards, which, sitting in London, and begirt by Englishmen, are to dispense the patronage, and direct the improvements, of another nation of the Union, Ireland will accelerate her own then unpitied degradation.

What is our case to-day, brothers of Erin, will be yours the instant you have got a little tranquillity,—are caught napping—and are in condition to have the aforesaid ceremony practised upon you without danger—I mean danger to the operator, for peril to the creature itself is of no consequence. I see you grasp your shilella at the very thought! Enough; we understand each other: Let us be friends. Patrick aids Saunders to-day; Saunders pays back Patrick to-morrow, or I will throw away my thistle, burn my St Andrew's cross, and disclaim my country!

But what do I talk of to-day or to-morrow? The cause of Ireland is tried ALONG WITH that of Scotland. She stands, at this very moment, at the bar beside her sister, and the prohibitory decree passed against the system of currency, which has spread universal fertility through Scotland, is extended to Ireland at the very moment when she proposed to have recourse to it, as well suited to the improvement of her rich soil, and promising the extension of means of cultivation, where cultivation is so greatly wanted, and would be so productive in the return. I am certain that I am correct in saying, that, in the course of last summer, there were several banking companies on the Scottish plan on the point of being established in different parts of Ireland, and Scotsmen of experience, capable of understanding and directing such establishments, were eagerly sought for, and invited over to act as superintendents. Whether the system which had been so eminently successful

in Scotland might be found quite as well qualified for the meridian of Ireland, it would be great presumption in me to decide. But it is very likely that success would ensue, provided too much were not expected at once, and that the requisite discretion were used in bounding the issue of notes, and the grants of credit. More or less probable, it was at least an experiment which Ireland had apparently a perfect right to make, an experiment by which she might reasonably hope to profit; and if she was willing to undertake it at her own risk, I can conceive nothing more unjust than preventing her from doing so—excepting always the still greater iniquity of interdicting in Scotland a system, the benefit of which has been proved by a century's experience, during all which period it has been attended with advantage, but in the last fifty years with the most brilliant success.

Ireland is therefore called upon to interfere on this occasion, not merely by the chance of standing, at some no very distant period, in the very predicament in which Scotland is now placed, but from the stake which she herself has in the question at issue. She cannot but remember that Rome subjected the free states around her much less by the force which was actually her own, than by the use which she made of those whom she had rendered her tools under the name of auxiliaries. The Batavians were employed in the conquest of Britain, the flower of the Britons were carried off from their native country, that they might help to subjugate the Germans. But such a policy, were it

entertained, is not likely to deceive nations in the present age, when statesmen are judged of not more by the measure which they mete to countries less capable of resistance, than by that which they use in dealing towards one upon whom it may not be immediately convenient to inflict the same unjust terms.

Ireland may read her future fate in that of Scotland, as in a mirror. Does she still continue to entertain any wish of imitating the Scottish system? The measure of interdiction about to be passed against her renders it impossible. Does she still expect to be occasionally consulted in the management of her own affairs? She may lay aside for ever that flattering hope, unless she makes common cause with her sister of Scotland, where every human being in the nation is entreating and imploring that dearest privilege of a free country. Finally, let us have a word of explanation with England herself.

And first let me say, that although the urgent necessity of the case requires that it should be pleaded in every possible form which its advocates can devise—although I press upon Scotland the necessity of being importunate, steady, and unanimous—although I show to Ireland the deep interest which she also must feel in the question at issue, yet it is to England herself, and to her representatives in Parliament, that, taking upon me, however unworthy, to speak for my Country, when the task is perhaps an obnoxious one, I make

my most immediate, and I trust not an ineffectual appeal.

The motto of my epistle may sound a little warlike; but, in using it,[1] I have only employed the summons which my countrymen have been best accustomed to obey. Saunders, if it please your honours, has been so long unused to stand erect in your honours' presence, that, if I would have him behave like a man, I must (like Sir Lucius O'Trigger backing Bob Acres) slap him on the shoulder, and throw a word in every now and then about his *honour*. But it is not a hostile signal towards you. The drums beat *to arms* and the trumpets sound *Heraus*, as well when the soldiers are called out for a peaceful as for a military object. And, which is more to the purpose, the last time the celebrated Fiery Cross was circulated in the Highlands, (it was in the country of the Grants), the clansmen were called forth not to fight an enemy, but to stop the progress of a dreadful conflagration which had been kindled in the woods. To my countrymen I speak in the language of many recollections, certain they are not likely to be excited beyond the

[1] It was the following verse of an old song :—

When the pipes begin to play
Tutti taittie to the drum,
Out claymore, and down wi' gun,
And to the rogues again.

I have laid it aside in this edition, some cautious friends thinking it liable to misinterpretation. [The Motto had been sharply criticised by Mr Croker.]

bounds of temperate and constitutional remonstrance, but desirous, by every effort in my power, to awaken them to a sense of their national danger.

England—were it mine to prescribe the forms, my native country ought to address nearly in the words of her own Mason, mangled, I fear, in my recollection—

> " Sister, to thee no ruder spell
> Will Scotland use, than those that dwell
> In soft Persuasion's notes, and lie
> Twined with the links of *Harmony*."

Let us, therefore, my countrymen, make a proper and liberal allowance for the motives of the Ministers and their friends on this occasion. We ought not to be surprised that English statesmen, and Englishmen in general, are not altogether aware of the extent of the Scottish privileges, or that they do not remember, with the same accuracy as ourselves, that we have a system of laws peculiar to us, secured by treaties. These peculiarities have not, by any question lately agitated, been placed under their view and recollection. As one race grows up, and another dies away, remembrances which are cherished by the weaker party in a national treaty, are naturally forgotten by the stronger, and viewed, perhaps, as men look upon an old boundary stone, half-sunk in earth, half-overgrown with moss, and attracting no necessary attention, until it is appealed to as a proof of property. Such antiquated barriers are not calculated immediately to arrest the progress of statesmen intent upon some favourite object, any more than,

when existing on the desolate mountain in their physical shape, such a bound-mark as I have described, always checks the eagerness of a stranger upon the moors, in keen and close pursuit of his game. But explain to the ardent young Southern sportsman that he trespasses upon the manor of another—convince the English statesman that he cannot advance his favourite object without infringing upon national right,—and, according to my ideas of English honour and good faith, the one will withdraw his foot within the boundary of private-property, with as much haste as if he trode on burning marle ; the other will curb his views of public good, and restrain even those within the limits which are prescribed by public faith. They will not, in either case, forget the precepts so often reiterated in Scripture, fenced there with a solemn anathema, and received as matter of public jurisprudence by the law of every civilized country—"Remove not the old land-mark, and enter not into the fields of the fatherless." The high and manly sense of justice by which the English nation has been honourably distinguished through the world, will not, I am certain, debase itself by aggression towards a people, which is not indeed incapable of defending itself, but which, though fearless of inequality, and regardless of threats, is yet willing to submit even to wrong, rather than hazard the fatal consequences to be incurred by obstinate defence, *via facti*, of its just rights. We make the sense of English justice and honour our judge ; and surely it would be hard to place us in

a situation where our own sense of general mischief, likely to ensue to the empire, may be the only check upon the sentiments which brave men feel, when called on to defend their national honour. There would be as little gallantry in such an aggression, as in striking a prisoner on parole.

It is to explain more particularly to the English nation, the real and deep reason which Scotland has to combat the present purpose of Ministers, that I have chiefly undertaken this Second Epistle.

I have stated in my former Letter, that the system respecting the currency, which is now about to be abrogated, has been practised in Scotland for about one hundred and thirty years, with the greatest advantage to the country and inhabitants. I have also shown from the Treaty of Union, that it cannot be altered, unless the preliminary is established to the conviction of Parliament, that the alteration is for the EVIDENT ADVANTAGE *of the subjects in Scotland.* No advantage, evident or remote, has ever been hinted at, so far as Scotland is concerned: it has only been said, that it will be advantageous to England, to whose measures Scotland must be conformable, as a matter of course, though in the teeth of the article stipulated by our Commissioners, and acceded to by those of England, at the time of the Union. I have therefore gained my cause in any fair Court.

But protesting that I have done enough to entitle me to a judgment, I have no objection to

go a step farther; and, taking on myself a burden of proof, which could not be justly imposed on me, I am willing to explain in a general and popular manner the peculiar nature of the paper currency in Scotland, and especially the guards and protections by which it is secured against such evil consequences as have resulted in England from a system the same in name, but operating very differently in practice.

The people of Scotland are by no means, as a hasty view of their system of currency might infer, liable to be imposed upon, or to suffer loss, through the rash and crude speculations of any man, or association of men, who, without adequate capital and experience, might choose to enter into a Banking concern, and issue their own notes.

The Banking Companies of Scotland, who take on themselves the issuing of notes, are, no doubt, independent of each other so far as they severally contract with the public; but a certain course of correspondence and mutual understanding is indispensable among themselves, and, in that respect, the whole Banks and Banking Companies in Scotland may be said to form a republic, the watchful superintendence of the whole profession being extended to the strength or weakness of the general system at each particular point; or, in other words, to the management of each individual Company.

No new Banking institution can venture to issue notes to the public, till they have established a full understanding that these notes will be re-

ceived as cash by the other Banks. Without this facility, an issue of notes would never take place, since, if issued, they could have no free or general currency. It is not the interest of the established Banks to raise rivals in their own profession, and it is directly contrary to that interest to accept of payment in the notes of a new Company, to whose responsibility there occurs any shadow of doubt. They, therefore, only agree to give currency to such new issues, where satisfactory information has been obtained of the safety of affording it. The public have, in this manner, the best possible guarantee against rash and ill-concocted speculations, from those who are not only best informed on the subject, but, being most interested in examining each new project of the kind, are least likely to be betrayed into a rash confidence, and have the power of preventing a doubtful undertaking at the very outset.

The circulation of a Scottish Banking Company, when once established, cannot maintain itself a week without redeeming its pledge to the Banks which receive its notes, by taking them up, and replacing the value either in the notes of such Banks reciprocally, or in specie. A check is thus imposed, which is continually in operation, and every Bank throughout Scotland is obliged to submit its circulation, twice a-week in Edinburgh, to the inspection of this Argus-eyed tribunal. Satisfactory information that any distant Banking Companies were leaving the safe and moderate walk of commerce, and embarking their capital in

precarious speculations, would very soon draw upon them the suspicion of the moneyed interest at large, and certainly put a period to their existence before it could injure the public.

This important species of check is unknown to the practice of England; nay, it is probably impossible to establish it there, since the metropolis, which is naturally the common point of union, is nearly inaccessible to the notes of private Banking Companies. In stating a circumstance, not perhaps generally known, I may perhaps remove some of the prejudice which has extended towards the Scottish system, as if exposed to the same inconveniences with that of the sister kingdom.

The cash-credits, as they are called, are a most important feature in our banking system, and, as I believe, entirely peculiar to it.

The nature of the transaction is the simplest possible. A person, either professional, engaged in commerce or manufactures, or otherwise so situated as to render an occasional command of money convenient, obtains a cash account to an extent proportioned to his funds, either by pledging his house, shop, or other real property, or by giving the bank two sufficient sureties to be answerable for the balance, if any, which shall be due to the company when the account is closed. The holder of the cash-credit is then entitled to draw on the banker for such sums as he may occasionally need, within its limits. He lodges, on the other hand, with the bank, such cash as he may from time to time receive from the returns of his

business, or otherwise. Interest is calculated on the advances drawn from the bank at five per cent, on the customer's deposits at three per cent only, and the account is finally balanced twice a-year. The interest varies according to the general rate of the money-market. I have stated it upon the general and legal rate, which it never does or can exceed.

This very simple accommodation is so general through Scotland, that no undertaking of the slightest magnitude is entered into without sufficient funds being provided in this manner, in order that the expense may be maintained without inconvenience until the profits come round. By means of such credits, the merchant carries on his trade, the agriculturist manages his farm, the professional man discharges the advances necessary in his business, and the landed gentleman maintains his credit, and pays his way, while waiting for the tardy return of his rents. The trustees who conduct public works have recourse to the same accommodation. Scarce any one who is not too rich to need an occasional advance (a case very rare in Scotland), or too poor to obtain credit, but is provided and acts upon some cash account of this kind, being a sort of fluctuating system of borrowing and lending. In the former case, the customer borrows of the bank the advances which he needs, in such sums and at such times as they are necessary; whereas, without such mutual accommodation, the loan must have been borrowed in an entire sum, and paid up at once, though in the former

case it included more money than was immediately wanted; and, in the latter, the settlement of the whole demand at once might be untimely and inconvenient.

Supposing the money lodged to exceed the amount of the credit, the customer becomes a creditor to the banker for the balance due to him, and receives a stated interest for it; while, at the same time, it lies, as in an ordinary deposit account, at his immediate command. This system is, no doubt, liable, like every thing earthly, to abuse. But the general prosperity of the country, managed almost entirely on such an arrangement betwixt those who deal in capital, and those who need the use of it, has shown that the partial abuse bears no proportion to the universal advantage. The system has, in its exercise, been, as Shakspeare says of mercy, "*twice blessed.*" It has prospered both with the giver and the taker; and while the holder of the account has been enabled to derive wealth from schemes which he could not otherwise have executed, the increasing funds of the banker, and his additional power of serving the country, and aiding, in similar instances, the progress of general improvement, add to the sum of national riches.

It is also to be observed, that the intimate connexion between the bankers who grant, and the respectable individuals who hold cash-credits, from L.100 to L.1000 and upwards, tends greatly to the security of the former. These customers, of whom each thriving bank possesses many, are the chief holders and disposers of notes; and, linked as they

are with the banks who grant the accommodation, by mutual advantage, they have both the interest and credit necessary to quash any unreasonable alarm, and secure the company against what is called a run, a circumstance to which Scottish banks have never been materially exposed, and which is not very consistent with the character of the people.

These undeniable facts afford, so far as Scotland is concerned, a decisive confutation to an argument which has been advanced, for abrogating the issue of small notes. It has been alleged, that such issues being chiefly in the hands of the lower classes, these were agitated easily by rumours, and they became the occasion of the *runs* above-mentioned, by which the banking companies are ruined; as men are crushed to death in a crowd, when those around them are agitated by some cause, very likely a vain one, of panic terror. In itself it seems, that depriving men of a lucrative branch of their profession, merely because, under certain circumstances, it may become dangerous to their stability, is very like the receipt of Sheepface in the farce, who kills his master's sheep to prevent their dying. But, in Scotland, there exists not the least approach to the disease, which it seems necessary to anticipate in so desperate a manner; for the apprehended *runs* on Scotch banks, by the holders of small notes, have never taken place, and from the assigned reasons, are never likely to do so. But should such an event occur, the interference of the banks' customers, parties so much

interested, would stop such a headlong movement, as a strong and well-ordered police would prevent the fatal agitations of a mob, ere they trode each other to death.

The general principle of the Credits thus granted is one which, in a poor country at least, or among poor traders, is highly desirable. It affords the farmer, trader, or country gentleman, a convenient and equitable means of pledging their property for a fund of credit to conduct their undertakings. It resembles in principle, though on a much more equitable and liberal footing, the impignoration of movables, which affords facilities, without which the small, yet indispensable branches of traffic, could not be carried on. Let us, in due humility, follow out a comparison at which our pride might be justly revolted. In London, and other great cities, the market-women, and persons of that description, are constantly in the practice of raising a small credit, by pledging their little articles of value, whether ornaments or wearing apparel, or the like, on which they maintain their trade till Saturday brings the weekly returns, when the ornaments are redeemed from the pawnbrokers, worn perhaps on the Sunday, and returned to *lavender* (as the phrase goes) on the next Monday. It is now many years since some well-disposed and benevolent persons, becoming aware of this practice, were shocked and scandalised at the extent of the interest exacted from those poor people, and made or proposed a law for rendering this course of pawnbroking illegal. Sir, the general mass of

misery which was about to attend on the well-meant interference of the Legislature, was so evident and so alarming, that the measure was either departed from ere it was completed, or repealed immediately, I forget which.

Paulo majora—The principle is in effect the very same on which, to restore public credit, the Bank of England itself is about to advance three millions of money on the security of mercantile commodities.

In the same way, we have in Scotland got into the regular habit of pledging our credit in the manner above described, for the purpose of raising a disposable capital. The advantage obtained by both parties is very equitably balanced; but, were it as iniquitous as that of the most grinding pawnbroker, still habit and manners have rendered it absolutely indispensable to us; and when a general source of credit is forcibly snatched from a country which has relied on it so long, you literally wrest the crutch from the infirm, because, in your mind, it is not of a handsome fashion.

After all, is it not just that we, the party concerned, should be admitted to have a preponderating vote in this matter? If we are eventually losing by adhering to an old and tried system, we can blame no one, but must suffer for our own obstinacy; but if Scotland is to be reduced to distress by having a system forced upon her which she is unable to maintain or carry on, who is to answer for the evils it may bring upon us?

It is by the profit arising upon issuing their small

notes, that the bankers are enabled to make the beneficial advances which custom has now rendered nearly indispensable to the carrying on business of almost any kind in Scotland. Above all, without that profit, the bankers could not, as hitherto, continue to allow a rateable interest on money deposited in their hands. Let us take a hasty view of some of the advantages attached to this peculiarity of the system.

The general convenience of the banker affording interest upon deposits is obvious. It is much more convenient to the individual to receive some interest for his ready cash, than that it should lie idle in his desk; and its being thus put into a productive state, instead of remaining an unproductive capital, must be much more useful to the country. This needs no commentary.

It has, besides, tended much to the diminution of crime in Scotland. We have forgot the period preceding the banking system, but it is easily recalled. Look at the old magazines or newspapers, during the time when the currency was chiefly maintained by specie, a ready temptation to the ruffian—the murder of graziers and dealers returning from fairs where they had sold their cattle, was a not infrequent occurrence. Farm-houses of the better class, as well as gentlemen's baronial residences, were defended by bars on the windows, upper and under, like those of a prison; yet these houses were often broken open by daring gangs, to possess themselves of the hoards which the tenant must have then kept beside him against rent-

day, and his landlord, for the current expense of his household. At present—*Cantabit vacuus*—the drover or grazier has a banker's receipt for the price of his cattle, in the old almanack which serves him for a pocket-book, and fears no robbery—while the farm-house, or manor, is secure from the attack of ruffians, who are like to find no metal there more precious than the tongs and poker.

Passing over the tendency of the present system to prevent crime, I come to its influence in recommending industry and virtue; and I am confident in stating, that the degree of morality, sobriety, and frugality, which is admitted to exist in Scotland, has been much fostered, though certainly not entirely produced, by the banks' allowing interest on small sums, which, if the present prohibitory measure passes, they will be no longer in a capacity to afford. Let the effect of such a violent change be considered merely in respect to the lowest order of depositors, who lodge in the bank from the sum of ten pounds to fifty. The first motive to save, among petty tradesmen, mechanics, farm-servants, domestics, and the like, is the delight of forming a productive capital; and in that class, the habit of saving and of frugality is the foundation of a sober, well-regulated, and useful society. Every judicious farmer scruples to repose perfect reliance in a farm-servant or a labourer, till he knows that he is possessed of a capital of a few pounds in some neighbouring bank; and when that is once attained, the man becomes tenfold steady and trustworthy. Instances

have occurred, to my certain knowledge, before the time of the Savings-Banks, where the master, to hasten this advantageous step in his dependent's life, would advance a servant of character a little money to complete a deposit, when the man's savings did not amount to ten pounds, which is the least sum received by the Banks. And, by the way, it is not easy to see how these excellent institutions, the Savings-Banks themselves, can be continued in Scotland, if interest is no longer allowed by the general Bank; for we are at too great at distance to avail ourselves of the Public Funds for that purpose.

At any rate, the cessation of payment of interest by the banks, attendant on the abolishing the issue of small notes, would greatly injure, if not effectually destroy, the formation of those virtuous and frugal habits, which are as essential to the class of society a little richer than that to which the Savings-Banks apply, as to the inferior description to whom these invaluable institutions afford encouragement and protection.

What is a poor hind or shepherd to do with his L.20 or L.30, the laborious earnings of his life, and which he looks to, under God, for keeping his widow and family from the parish, if bankers can no longer afford him some interest for the use of it? Where is he to get decent security for his petty capital? He will either be swindled out of it by some rascally attorney, or coaxed to part with it to some needy relation—in either case, never to see it more. It is difficult enough, even at pre-

sent, for masters, who take an interest in their servants' welfare, to get them to place their money safe in the bank; if this resource is taken away, where is it to be lodged, with any chance of security? But I think I can guess its fate, friend Journalist. The banks will be forcing back on the hands of the shepherd or farm-servant his deposit, just at the time when they are unwillingly distressing his master for the balance on his cash account, called up before his well-judged, but half-executed improvements, undertaken on the faith of the continued credit, have become productive. The farmer will, in the hour of need and pressure, borrow the petty capital of his servant; he will be unable to repay it; and then, when the distress becomes chin-deep, they may turn beggars together —for uniformity's sake.

If that settling day should ever come, Mr Journalist, when the bankers, dunned for deposits in their hands, are compelled to be as rigorous with those who have received advances from them—that awful day, when the hundreds of thousands, nay millions, hitherto divided between the banks and the public, must be all called up at once, and accounts between them closed—that settling day will be remembered as long in Scotland as ever was the Mirk Monday!

But what can the bankers do? their whole profession must undergo a universal change, that discounts and every species of accommodation may be brought within the narrowest possible limits. At present, the profits divided among the profes-

sion, upon perhaps a million and a half of small notes, enable them to advance liberally to individuals upon any reasonable security. But if the banker's occupation is henceforth to consist in stocking himself with a great abundance of gold, and for that purpose engaging in an eternal struggle, not to *preserve* (for that is impossible), but to *restore* an eternally vacillating proportion betwixt the metallic circulation and the wants of the country, such expensive labour ALONE will be likely to prove quite enough for his talents and funds.

The injury done to the bankers, by depriving them of such a principal and profitable branch of their profession, is not to be passed over in silence. The English are wont, in other cases, to pay particular heed ere they alter any peculiar state of things, upon the faith of which property has been vested in a fixed and permanent line of employment. But this proposed enactment will go as far as the in-calling of one million and a half of notes can do, to destroy the emoluments of the profession. You deprive them of those very notes which travel farthest from home, and which return most slowly; nay, which, from various causes, are subject not to return at all. It is therefore in vain to say that thus the profession is left uninjured, when it is limited to the issue of notes of five pounds and upwards. It might be as reasonably stated in a case of mutilation, that a man was left in the entire and uninjured possession of his hand, the prisoner having only cut off his five fingers.

If, therefore, the proposed measure shall take

place, the banker's profession must suffer greatly, nay, in its present form, must cease to exist. We cannot, as a nation, afford to be deprived of such an honourable and profitable means of settling our sons in the world. We cannot afford to lose a resource which has proved to so many respectable and honourable families a means *ad re-ædificandum antiquam domum*, and which has held out to others a successful mode of elevating themselves, by liberal and useful industry, to the possession of wealth, at once to their own advantage and to that of Scotland. Thus it must needs be, if the proposed measure should pass; and when we come to count the gains we shall then have made, by change from a paper circulation to one in specie, I doubt it will form a notable example of the truth of the proverb, "*That gold may be bought too dear.*"

The Branches established by Banks in remote parts of Scotland must be given up. The parent Banks would vainly exhaust themselves in endeavouring to draw specie from London, and to force it, at whatever expense, into more fertile districts of Scotland, which, of course, would receive it in small quantity, and pay for it at a heavy charge. But as to the remote and sterile regions, it must be with the Highlands and Isles of Scotland, as it is now in some remote districts of Ireland, where scarce any specie exists for the purpose of ordinary currency, and where, for want of that representative for value or paper money in its stead, men are driven back to the primitive mode of bartering for every thing—the peasant pays his rent in labour

and the fisher gets his wages in furnishings. Misery is universal—credit is banished—and with all the bounties of nature around them, ready to reward industry—the sinews of that industry are hewn asunder, and man starves where Nature has given abundance!

Great Britain would be then somewhat like the image in Belteshazzar's dream. London, its head, might be of fine gold—the fertile provinces of England, like its breast and arms, might be of silver—the southern half of Scotland might acquire some brass or copper—but the northern provinces would be without worth or value, like the legs which were formed of iron and clay. What force is to compel gold to circulate to these barren extremities of the island, I cannot understand; and, when once forced there, I fear its natural tendency to return to the source from which it is issued will render all efforts to detain it as difficult as the task of the men of Gotham, when they tried to hedge in the cuckoo. Our Bankers, or such as may continue in the profession under the same name, but with very different occupation and prospects, will be condemned to the labour of Sisyphus,—eternally employed in rolling a cask of gold up a Highland hill, at the risk of being crushed by it as the influence of gravity prevails, and it comes rolling down upon their heads.

Mrs Primrose, wife to the excellent Vicar of Wakefield, carried on a system of specie, with respect to her family, at a much cheaper rate than that at which Scotland will be able, I fear, to

accomplish the same object. "I gave each of them a shilling," says the good man, speaking of his daughters, "though for the honour of the family it must be observed, that they never went without money themselves; as my wife always generously let them have a guinea each to keep their pockets, but with strict injunctions *never to change it.*" Our state is not so favourable, Mr Journalist. We shall be obliged to lay out our guinea every morning of our lives, and to buy back another every evening, at an increasing per centage, to pay the expense of the next day. Moreover, Mrs Primrose was more reasonable (begging pardon for the expression) than our English friends; for, although she enforced the specie system in her own family, we do not hear that she was ever desirous to intrude it into that of Neighbour Flamborough.

I do not mean to enter into the general question of the difference betwixt the circulation of specie and of paper money. I speak of them relatively, as applicable to the wants and wishes of Scotland only. Yet, I must say, it seems strange, that under a liberal system, of which freedom of trade is the very soul, we should be loaded with severe restrictions upon our own national choice, instead of being left at liberty to adopt that representative of value, whether in gold or paper, that best suits our own convenience!

To return to the remote Highlands and Islands, Mr Journalist, I need not tell you that they are inhabited by a race of men, to use Dr Currie's

phrase, "patient of labour and prodigal of life," for succouring whose individual wants the tenth part of an English coal-heaver's wages would be more than enough, but yet who are human creatures, and cannot live absolutely without food—who are men, and entitled to human compassion—Christians, and entitled to Christian sympathy. But their claims as men and Christians are not all they have to proffer to administration and to England. The distress to which they are about to be exposed will return upon the state at large in a way very little contemplated.

Those sterile and remote regions have been endowed by Providence with treasures of their own, gained from the stormy deep by their hardy inhabitants. The fisheries in the distant Highlands and Isles, under the management of an enlightened Board, have at length accomplished what was long the warmest wish of British patriots, and have driven the Dutch out of all rivalry in this great branch of national industry. The northern fisheries furnish exports to our colonies and to the Continent, exceeding half a million of money annually, and give employment to a very great number of hardy seamen. The value of such a plentiful source of prosperity, whether considered as supplying our navy or affecting our manufactures, is sufficiently obvious. Now observe, Mr Journalist, how these fisheries are at present conducted.

The branches of those obnoxious establishments, the Scottish Banks, maintained at convenient and

centrical points in the north of Scotland, furnish all the remote and numerous stations where the fisheries are carried on, with small notes and silver for payment of the actual fisher's labour, and in return accept the bills of the fish-curers upon the consignees. This they do at a moderate profit; on which principle alone private industry, and enterprise, and capital, can be made conducive to the public good. The small notes thus circulated in the most distant parts of Scotland, return, indeed, in process of time, to the Banks which issued them; but the course of their return is so slow and circuitous, that the interest accruing on them during their absence amply reimburses the capitalist for the trouble and risk which attend the supply. But let any man who knows the country, or will otherwise endeavour to conceive its poverty and sterility, imagine if he can, the difficulties, expense, and hazard, at which gold must be carried to points where it would never have voluntarily circulated, and from whence, unless detained in some miser's hoard (a practice which the currency in specie, and disuse of interest on deposits, is likely to revive), it will return to London with the celerity of a carrier-pigeon.

The manufacture of Kelp, which is carried on to an immense extent through all the shores and isles of the Highlands, supporting thousands of men with their families, who must otherwise emigrate or starve, and forming the principal revenue of many Highland proprietors, is nearly, if not exactly, on the same footing with the fisheries; is carried on

chiefly by the same medium of circulation; and, like them, supplied by the Bankers with small notes for that purpose, at a reasonable profit to themselves, and with the utmost advantage to the country and its productive resources.

Referring once more to the state of misery in the distant districts of Ireland, I must once more ask, if these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry tree? If the want of circulation creates poverty and misery in the comparatively fertile country of Ireland, what is to become of those barren deserts, where even at present the hardest labour which the human frame can endure is necessary to procure the most moderate pittance on which human life can be supported? The inhabitants are now healthy, enterprising, laborious; and their industry, producing means of existence to themselves, is of immense profit to their country. If their means of obtaining the payment of their labour is destroyed, nay, even interrupted, the state must either feed idle paupers, who once flourished a hardy and independent race of labourers, or it must be at the expense of transporting the inhabitants to Canada and New South Wales, and leaving totally waste a country, which few but those bound to it by the *Amor patriæ* will desire to reside in, even if the means of procuring subsistence were left unimpaired.

Can any thing short of the UTMOST NECESSITY justify an experiment, which threatens to depopulate a part of the empire, and destroy the happiness of thousands? and how can such a necessity exist,

without the least symptom of its having been felt or suspected during the last hundred and thirty years, when the present system has been in exercise?

Destroy the existing conduit, and let me again enquire, what forcing-pump, what new-invented patent pressure, were it devised by Bramah himself, is to compel specie into those inaccessible regions? The difficulty of conveying the supplies is augmented by the risk of carrying wealth unguarded through the regions of poverty. I know my countrymen are indifferent honest, as Hamlet says; yet I would not advise the Genius of the specie system to travel through Scotland, moral as the country is, after the fashion of the fair pilgrim, "rich and rare," in Moore's beautiful melody, just by way of trying the integrity of the inhabitants. Take my word for it, the absence of temptation is no valueless guardian of virtue. If convoys of gold must be sent through lonely mountains, I venture to say, that smugglers will be converted into robbers, and that our romance-writers need not turn back to ancient times for characters like John Gunn, or Rob Roy Macgregor.

This I am sure of, that if the mere authority of a legislative enactment can force a sufficient quantity of gold into those parts, to carry on the fishery and kelp manufactures, it can do a great deal more in favour of the poor but hardy inhabitants. Why should our statesmen be so stinted in their bounty, if it depends merely on legislative enactment?

Why not enact, that whereas the dress now worn by his Majesty's loving inhabitants of the Lewis, Uist, Harries, Edderachyllis, Cape-Wrath, and Loch Erriboll, is scanty, thin, and indecorous, each inhabitant of those districts should in future wear a full-trimmed suit of black silk, or velvet; and, as his only representative of wealth has been hitherto a crumpled dog's-ear'd piece of Scotch paper, that, in future, he never presume to stir out of his cabin without having, and bearing about his person, the sum of at least five golden sovereigns? The working the stuffs may be a means of relieving the starving weavers of Spitalfields, and the clothes could be conveniently enough forwarded by the escorts who are to protect the chests of specie.

It is not amiss to observe that this violent experiment on our circulation—demanded by no party in Scotland—nay, forced upon us against the consent of all who can render a reason, fraught with such deep ruin if it miscarry, and holding forth no prospect whatever of good even should it prove successful,—can only be carried on at a very considerable expense to England. She must coin for the service of Scotland at least a million and a half of specie—sustain the loss of tear and wear—the chance of accident and plunder—of disappearance by pilfering and hoarding—and be at the expense of supplying this immense quantity of precious metals, not for the benefit, but for the probable ruin of our devoted country. It is fairly forcing gold down our throats, as little to our advantage,

as when the precious metal was sent in a molten state down the gullet of Cyrus, or Crassus,—I forget which.

No argument has been alleged by the English statesmen for pressing this measure, but that of "uniformity;" by virtue of which principle, a little more extended, they may introduce the Irish Insurrection Law into England to-morrow, and alter the whole national law of Scotland the day after. This argument, I therefore think, proves a little too much, and is, in consequence, no argument at all. In absence of avowed motives, and great darkness as to any imaginable cause, men's minds have entertained very strange and wild fancies, to account for the zeal with which this obnoxious measure is driven forward. Some, who would be thought to see farther into a mill-stone than others, pretend the real reason is to soothe the jealousy of the Bank of England, by preventing the possibility of Scots notes passing in England. It is easy to see how people must be puzzled to discover the semblance of a possible motive, when they have recourse to such figments as this. Can it be conceived that our dearest interests are to be tampered with for such an object?—It is very true, that in the adjacent counties of England, innkeepers for courtesy, and drovers and others dealing at Scots fairs, on account of convenience, readily accept of Scots notes in payment; but that notes, which nobody is obliged to accept, and which the English banks refuse to change, can circulate to such an extent as to alarm the Bank of England!—why, sir,

I will as soon believe, that, during the old wars, the city of London beat to arms, called out their Trained-bands, and manned their walls, because the Teviotdale Borderers had snapped up a herd of cattle in Northumberland. What becomes of the comparative excellence of the specie circulation to be established in England, if apprehensions are entertained that it cannot stand its ground against the reprobated paper system of Scotland? In God's name, are they afraid people will prefer paper to gold—leaving, like Hamlet's misjudging mother, the literally golden meads of England, to batten on a Scottish moor? It is like the ridiculous story told, that there is a by-law, or at least a private understanding, that no Scotsman shall be chosen a director of the Bank of England, lest our countrymen engross the whole management in the course of a few years. Why, sir, these opinions remind one of the importance attached to the fated stone in Westminster Abbey, of which it is said, that the Scots shall reign wheresoever it is carried. But, sir, we must not swallow such flattering compliments. The Bank of England jealous of the partial circulation of a few Scottish notes in the north of England!!! Sir, it would be supposing the blessed sun himself jealous of a gas-light manufactory.

A few general observations on England's late conduct to us, and I will release you.

A very considerable difference may be remarked, within these twenty-five years, in the conduct of the English towards such of the Scotch indivi-

duals, as either visit the metropolis as mere birds of passage, or settle there as residents. Times are much changed since the days of Wilkes and Liberty, when the bare suspicion of having come from North of the Tweed, was a cause of hatred, contempt, and obloquy. The good-nature and liberality of the English seem now even to have occasioned a reaction in their sentiments towards their neighbours, as if to atone for the national prejudices of their fathers. It becomes every Scotsman to acknowledge explicitly, and with gratitude, that whatever tenable claim of merit has been made by his countrymen for more than twenty years back, whether in politics, arts, arms, professional distinction, or the paths of literature, it has been admitted by the English, not only freely, but with partial favour. The requital of North Britain can be little more than good wishes and sincere kindness towards her southern Sister, and a hospitable welcome to such of her children as are led by curiosity to visit Scotland. To this ought to be added the most grateful acknowledgment.

But though this amicable footing exists between the public of each nation, and such individuals of the other as may come into communication with them, and may God long continue it—yet, I must own, the conduct of England towards Scotland as a kingdom, whose crown was first united to theirs by our giving *them* a King, and whose dearest national rights were surrendered to them by an incorporating Union, has not been of late such as we were entitled to expect.

There has arisen gradually, on the part of England, a desire of engrossing the exclusive management of Scottish affairs, evinced by a number of circumstances, trifling in themselves, but forming a curious chain of proof when assembled together; many of which intimate a purpose to abate us, like old Lear, of our train, and to accustom us to submit to petty slights and mortifications, too petty perhaps individually to afford subject of serious complaint, but which, while they tend to lower us in our own eyes, seem to lay the foundation for fresh usurpations, of which this meditated measure may be an example.

This difference of treatment, and of estimation, exhibited towards *individuals* of the Scottish nation, and to the *nation itself* as an aggregate, seems at first sight an inconsistency. Does a Scotchman approach London with some pretension to character as a Preacher, a Philosopher, a Poet, an Economist, or an Orator, he finds a welcome and all-hail, which sometimes surprises those whom he has left on the northern side of the Tweed,—little aware, perhaps, of the paragon who had emigrated, till they heard the acclamations attending his reception—Does a gentleman of private fortune take the same route, he finds a ready and voluntary admission into the class of society for which he is fitted by rank and condition—Is the visitor one of the numerous class who wander for the chance of improving his fortunes, his national character as a Scotsman is supposed to imply the desirable qualities of information, prudence, steadiness, moral and

religious feeling, and he obtains even a preference among the Southern employers, who want confidential clerks, land-stewards, head-gardeners, or fit persons to occupy any similar situation, in which the quality of trustworthiness is demanded.

But, on the other hand, if the English statesman has a point of great or lesser consequence to settle with Scotland *as a country*, we find him and his friends at once seized with a jealous, tenacious, wrangling, overbearing humour, and that they not only insist upon conducting the whole matter according to their own will, but are by no means so accessible to the pleas of reason, justice, and humanity, as might be expected from persons in other cases so wise and liberal. We cease at once to be the Northern Athenians, according to the slang of the day—the moral and virtuous people, who are practically and individually esteemed worthy of especial confidence. We have become the caterpillars of the island, instead of its pillars. We seem to be, in their opinion, once more transmuted into the Scots described by Churchill—a sharp sharking race, whose wisdom is cunning, and whose public spirit consists only in an illiberal nationality, inclining us, by every possible exertion of craft, to obtain advantage at the expense of England.

Sir, the Englishman, just and liberal in his ordinary and natural movements, is prone to feverish fits of suspicion, during which he is apt to conceive that those qualities of frankness and generosity render him peculiarly liable to be imposed on. He will always *give* willingly, but he often becomes

abandoned their homes at a few hours' warning, marched many miles, and by their demonstration of readiness, put an end to a very serious affair, and what might have been a very disastrous one—have they, I say, since that period, received the countenance due for their good-will from the Government, and which should have been rendered alike in policy and justice? I am informed they have not. I am informed that they are, at least particular troops of them are, refused the small allowance made on the days when they are called out for exercise, and must either discharge the duty of training, always sufficiently expensive and inconvenient, entirely at their own expense, as some of them have done for two years, or suffer their discipline to fall into decay. Can it be that our English brethren have taken a notion that sabres are only curved broadswords, and that these are unhappy weapons in the hands of Scotsmen? I acquit them of such meanness. But they despise us a little too much.

Sir, Discontent is the child of Distress, and Distress is the daughter of ill-timed Experiment. Should we again see disorderly associations formed, and threats of open violence held out—should such a winter and spring as 1821 return, it may not, in the event of the measure with which Scotland is threatened, be quite so easy, as at that period, to assemble on a given spot, within a day or two, twelve or fourteen hundred yeomen to support the handful of military left within Scotland. That general spirit of loyalty will, I am sure,

To the better, more natural, more predominating disposition of our neighbours, I am well disposed to ascribe the many marks of partiality and kindness shown to individual Scotsmen by the English at large—to the latter suspicious, dogged, illiberal determination to have the best of the bargain,—that ungracious humour, which forgets even justice as well as liberal feelings, for fear their good-nature should be imposed upon,—I am compelled to ascribe much of their recent behaviour in international discussions. In such fits of jealousy, men are like those who wear green spectacles. Every object they look upon is tinged with the predominant colour, which exists not in the objects themselves, but in the medium through which they are viewed. Talk to an English statesman of the fairest, the most equitable proposal for the advancement of Scotland as a nation, the most just and indisputable claim on behalf of her public establishments or functionaries, the idea of a *Scotch Job* starts up like an apparition, and frightens all power of equitable decision out of the Minister's head. It is in vain urged, that even the expense of the proposed measure must be discharged by Scotland herself—her sister is ready with the schoolboy's answer to his fag,—"All that is *yours* is *ours*, and all *ours* is *our own*." Let the scales of Justice be trimmed with the nicest exactness if you will, but do not let Authority throw the sword into the scale from mere apprehension, lest, after having done her utmost to secure the advantage, she be cheated in the weighing.

In an old Scottish law, to be convicted of being an Egyptian, or gipsy, was equivalent to conviction that the party was a common and notorious thief. And truly the English seem to think (in public matters, though by no means in private relations), that being a Scotsman is equivalent to being an embezzler of public money, a jobber, and a peculator. But when they suppose that we are able and willing in all such cases to impose on them, they do injustice alike to their own shrewdness and our integrity.

It arises out of this unhappy state of feeling towards us, more than to any actual desire of giving us offence, that England has of late abated our establishment in many respects in which our rank as a kingdom of the Union is in some degree compromised.

Last year a bill, deeply affecting the national interests of Scotland, by altering many most important points in our judicature, was depending in Parliament. Grave objections appeared to the Law Bodies and others in Scotland, to attach to some particular arrangements thereby proposed. They required, not that the bill should be given up, but that it should be suspended at least, till the country in which it was to operate, and which alone was to be hurt or benefited by the enactment, should have time to consider the measure in all its bearings, and to express their national sense upon the subject. Can it be believed that it required the strongest possible remonstrances of the great law-officer of the crown with his Majesty's Ministers

to obtain a few months' reprieve, as if the demolition, or alteration at least, of our laws, was a matter as little deserving a month's delay, as the execution of some flagrant criminal, justly and fully convicted of the most gross crimes? Take one or two instances more.

Till of late, there was generally an Admiral on this station; but since the gallant Sir John Beresford struck his flag, that mark of distinction seems to have been laid aside, probably for ever. Our army establishment is dwindled to a shadow, scarce worthy of being placed under the command of the distinguished Major-General who now holds it, although he only commands the forces, instead of being, as was commonly the case till of late years, a Commander-in-Chief, with a Lieutenant-General, and two Major-Generals, under him. I need hardly say, that I would wish this abatement of our dignity in some measure at least, amended, not by the *removal*, but by the *promotion* of the gallant General.

It may be replied that we are complimented in being thus left to ourselves—that we are a moral people, therefore do not require a military force to keep the peace—a loyal people, therefore do not need an armed force to put down tumult—that we have our own brave yeomanry, who, at no distant period, showed themselves capable of affording their country protection in the most desirable manner, anticipating mischief by their promptitude, and preventing evil before it had come to a head. But have these yeomen, who twice in a few months

abandoned their homes at a few hours' warning, marched many miles, and by their demonstration of readiness, put an end to a very serious affair, and what might have been a very disastrous one—have they, I say, since that period, received the countenance due for their good-will from the Government, and which should have been rendered alike in policy and justice? I am informed they have not. I am informed that they are, at least particular troops of them are, refused the small allowance made on the days when they are called out for exercise, and must either discharge the duty of training, always sufficiently expensive and inconvenient, entirely at their own expense, as some of them have done for two years, or suffer their discipline to fall into decay. Can it be that our English brethren have taken a notion that sabres are only curved broadswords, and that these are unhappy weapons in the hands of Scotsmen? I acquit them of such meanness. But they despise us a little too much.

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be the same. But when proprietors are embarrassed, tenants distressed, commercial people in doubt and danger, men lose at once their zeal, and the means for serving the public. This is not unworthy of serious consideration.

I mentioned in my former Letter another circumstance, of which I think my country has reason to complain. It is that sort of absolute and complete state of tutelage to which England seems disposed to reduce her sister country, subjecting her in all her relations to the despotic authority of English Boards, which exercise an exclusive jurisdiction in Scottish affairs, without regard to her local peculiarities, and with something like contempt of her claims as a country united with England, but which certainly has never resigned the right of being at least consulted in her own concerns. I mentioned the restrictions, and, as I conceive them, degrading incapacities inflicted on our Revenue Boards,—I might extend the same observations to the regulations in the Stamp-Office;—and I remember, when these were in progress, that it was said in good society, that the definitive instructions (verbal, I believe) communicated to the able officer upon whom the examination and adjustment of the alterations in that department devolved, and who was sent down hither on purpose, were to this purport:—"That he was to proceed in Scotland without more regard to the particular independence of that country than he would feel in Yorkshire." These, however, were matters interesting the general revenue—the servants of the Crown had a right

to regulate them as they pleased. But if they were regulated with a purposed and obvious intention to lessen the consequence of Scotland, throw implied discredit on her natives, as men unworthy of trust, and hold her recollections and her feelings at nought, they make links in a chain which seems ready to be wound around us whenever our patience will permit.

This, sir, is an unwise, nay, an unsafe proceeding. An old chain, long worn, forms a callosity on the limb which bears it, and is endured, with whatever inconvenience, as a thing of custom. It is not so with restraints newly imposed. These fret —gall—gangrene—the iron enters first into the flesh, and then into the soul. I speak out what more prudent men would keep silent. I may lose friends by doing so: but he who is like Malachi Malagrowther, old and unfortunate, has not many to lose, and risks little in telling truths before, when men of rising ambition and budding hopes would leave them to be discovered by the event. The old tree and the withered leaf are easily parted.

But, besides such matters of punctilio, Mr Journalist, there has been in England a gradual and progressive system of assuming the management of affairs entirely and exclusively proper to Scotland, as if we were totally unworthy of having the management of our own concerns. All must centre in London. We could not have a Caledonian canal, but the commissioners must be Englishmen, and meet in London;—a most useful canal they would have made of it, had not the lucky introduc-

tion of steam-boats—*Deus ex machina*—come just in time to redeem them from having made the most expensive and most useless undertaking of the kind ever heard of since Noah floated his ark! We could not be intrusted with the charge of erecting our own kirks (churches in the Highlands), or of making our roads and bridges in the same wild districts, but these labours must be conducted under the tender care of men who knew nothing of our country, its wants and its capabilities, but who, nevertheless, sitting in their office in London, were to decide, without appeal, upon the conduct of the roads in Lochaber!—Good Heaven, sir! to what are we fallen?—or rather, what are we esteemed by the English? Wretched drivellers, incapable of understanding our own affairs; or greedy peculators, unfit to be trusted? On what ground are we considered either as the one or the other?

But I may perhaps be answered, that these operations are carried on by grants of public money; and that, therefore, the English—undoubtedly the only disinterested and public-spirited and trustworthy persons in the universe—must be empowered exclusively to look after its application. Public money forsooth!!! I should like to know whose pocket it comes out of. Scotland, I have always heard, contributes FOUR MILLIONS to the public revenue. I should like to know, before we are twitted with grants of public money, how much of that income is dedicated to Scottish purposes—how much applied to the general uses of the empire—

and if the balance should be found to a great amount on the side of Scotland, as I suspect it will, I should like still farther to know how the English are entitled to assume the direction and disposal of any pittance which may be permitted, out of the produce of our own burdens, to revert to the peculiar use of the nation from which it has been derived? If England was giving us alms, she would have a right to look after the administration of them, lest they should be misapplied or embezzled. If she is only consenting to afford us a small share of the revenue derived from our own kingdom, we have some title, methinks, to be consulted in the management, nay, intrusted with it.

This assumption of uncalled-for guardianship accelerates the circulation a little, and inclines one to say to his countrymen,

> "Our blood has been too cold and temperate,
> Unapt to stir at such indignities——."

You could not keep a decent servant in your family, sir, far more a partner, if you obviously treated such a person as a man in whom no confidence was to be reposed even in his own department. A ludicrous mode has been lately fallen upon of keeping up in appearance, and as far as the almanack goes, our old list of Scottish offices. First, they deprive a high office of state of all its emoluments, and then they unite it with one to which some emolument is still permitted to attach; so they are doubled, like slices of bread and butter laid face to face—English fashion, as schoolboys used to call it—with this great difference, that only one slice is

gentlemanlike and liberal tone so much more becoming a great nation, and according, I must say, so much better with your natural disposition. As you mean that a value should be set upon your free public voice by your legislators, allow the natural influence of that of Scotland, in a matter exclusively relating to her own affairs, but so intimately connected with her welfare, that nothing since the year 1748 has occurred of such importance. The precedent is a bad one at any rate; the consequences will be much worse.

> " Prevent—resist it. Let it not be so,
> Lest children's children call against you—*woe!* "

Our Scottish Nobles and Gentlemen, I cannot better exhort to resist the proposal at every stage, by the most continued and unremitting opposition —to be discouraged by nothing—to hope to the last—to combat to the last—than by using once more the words of the patriotic Belhaven:— " Man's extremity is God's opportunity. He is a present help in time of need; a deliverer, and that right early. Some unforeseen providence will fall out, that may cast the balance. Some Moses will say, Why do you strive together when you are brethren? Some Judah or other will say, Let not our hand be upon him, he is our brother. Let us up then, and be doing; and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come."

I am, Mr Journalist,

Yours,

MALACHI MALAGROWTHER.

I do not suppose this farce will be continued long. We shall in due time, I suppose, be put all under English control, deprived even of the few native dignitaries and office-holders we have left, and accommodated with a set of English superintendents in every department. It will be upon the very reasoning of Goneril before alluded to:—

> "What need you five-and-twenty, ten, or five,
> To follow in a house where twice so many
> Have a command to tend you?"—

Patrick, will you play Regan, and echo,

> "——What need *one*?"

Take care, my good fellow! for you will scarce get a great share in our spoils, and will be shortly incapacitated, and put under a statute of lunacy as well as ourselves.

But what will England take by this engrossing spirit? Not the miserable candle-ends and cheese-parings—these, I dare say, she scorns. The mere pleasure, then, of absolute authority—the gratification of humour exacted by a peevish and petted child, who will not be contented till he has the toy in his own hand, though he break it the next moment. Is any real power derived by centering the immediate and direct control of every thing in London? Far from it. On the contrary, that great metropolis is already a head too bulky for the empire, and, should it take a vertigo, the limbs would be unable to support it. The misfortune of France, during the Revolution, in all its phases, was, that no part of the kingdom could think for itself or act for itself; all were from habit neces-

sitated to look up to Paris. Whoever was uppermost there, and the worst party is apt to prevail in a corrupted metropolis, were, without possibility of effectual contradiction, the uncontrolled and despotic rulers of France—*absit omen!*

Again, would the British empire become stronger, were it possible to annul and dissolve all the distinctions and peculiarities, which, flowing out of circumstances, historical events, and difference of customs and climates, make its relative parts still, in some respects, three separate nations, though intimately incorporated into one empire? Every rope-maker knows, sir, that three distinct *strands*, as they are called, incorporated and twisted together, will make a cable ten times stronger than the same quantity of hemp, however artificially combined into a single twist of cord. The reason is obvious to the meanest capacity. If one of the strands happen to fail a little, there is a threefold chance that no imperfection will occur in the others at the same place, so that the infirm strand may give way a little, yet the whole cord remain trustworthy. If the single twist fail at any point, all is over. For God's sake, sir, let us remain as Nature made us, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen, with something like the impress of our several countries upon each! We would not become better subjects, or more valuable members of the common empire, if we all resembled each other like so many smooth shillings. Let us love and cherish each other's virtues—bear with each other's failings—be tender to each other's prejudices—be scrupu-

lously regardful of each other's rights. Lastly, let us borrow each other's improvements, but never before they are needed and demanded. The degree of national diversity between different countries, is but an instance of that general variety which Nature seems to have adopted as a principle through all her works, as anxious, apparently, to avoid, as modern statesmen to enforce, any thing like an approach to absolute "uniformity."

It may be said that some of the grievances I have complained of are mere trifles. I grant they are,—excepting in the feelings and intentions towards Scotland which they indicate. But, according to Bacon's maxim, you will see how the wind sits by flinging up a feather, which you cannot discern by throwing up a stone. Affronts are almost always more offensive than injuries, although they seldom are in themselves more than trifles. The omitting to discharge a gun or two in a salute, the raising or striking of a banner or sail, have been the source of bloody wars. England lost America about a few miserable chests of tea—she endangered India for the clipping of a mustache.

But let us humble ourselves to our situation, and confine our remonstrances to the immediate grievance, which surely cannot be termed punctilious or unimportant.

To England we say, therefore, Let us appeal from Philip intoxicated to Philip sober. Leave out exasperating circumstances on either side, and examine our remonstrance, not in the jealous feeling of which we have reason to complain, but in the

gentlemanlike and liberal tone so much more becoming a great nation, and according, I must say, so much better with your natural disposition. As you mean that a value should be set upon your free public voice by your legislators, allow the natural influence of that of Scotland, in a matter exclusively relating to her own affairs, but so intimately connected with her welfare, that nothing since the year 1748 has occurred of such importance. The precedent is a bad one at any rate; the consequences will be much worse.

> " Prevent—resist it. Let it not be so,
> Lest children's children call against you—*woe!* "

Our Scottish Nobles and Gentlemen, I cannot better exhort to resist the proposal at every stage, by the most continued and unremitting opposition —to be discouraged by nothing—to hope to the last—to combat to the last—than by using once more the words of the patriotic Belhaven:— " Man's extremity is God's opportunity. He is a present help in time of need; a deliverer, and that right early. Some unforeseen providence will fall out, that may cast the balance. Some Moses will say, Why do you strive together when you are brethren? Some Judah or other will say, Let not our hand be upon him, he is our brother. Let us up then, and be doing; and let our noble patriots behave themselves like men, and we know not how soon a blessing may come."

I am, Mr Journalist,

Yours,

MALACHI MALAGROWTHER.

LETTER III.

March 7, 1826.

DEAR MR JOURNALIST,

THIS third set of Mr Baxter's last words is rather a trial on your patience, considering how much *Balaam* (speaking technically) I have edged out of your valuable paper; how I have trodden on the toes of your Domestic Intelligence, and pushed up to the wall even your Political Debates, until you have almost lost your honoured title of the EDINBURGH JOURNAL in that of MALACHI'S CHRONICLE.

I returned from the Meeting of Inhabitants on Friday last, sir, convoked for considering this question, with much feeling of gratification from what I saw and heard; but still a little disappointed that no one appeared on the opposite side, excepting one gentleman (" self pulling," as Captain Crowe says, " against the whole ship's crew "), whose eloquence used no other argument than by recommending implicit deference to the wisdom of Ministers. I am a pretty stanch Tory myself, but not up to this point of humility. I never have nor will bargain for an implicit surrender of my private judgment in a national question of this sort. I am but an unit, but of units the whole sum of society is composed. On the present

question, had I been the born servant of Ministers, I would have used to them the words of Cornwall's dependent, when he interferes to prevent his master from treading out Gloster's eyes—

> "I have served you ever since I have been a child,
> But better service have I never done you,
> Than now to bid you *Hold*."

Or in a yet more spirited passage in the same drama—

> ——— "Be Kent unmannerly,
> When Lear is mad."

To return to the business. By the unanimity of the meeting, I lost an opportunity of making a very smart extempore speech, which I had sate up half the night for the purpose of composing. To have so much eloquence die within me unuttered, excited feelings like those of Sancho, when, in the deserts of the Sierra Morena, his good things rotted in his gizzard. To console me, however, I found, on my return to my lodgings in the Lawnmarket, my own lucubrations blazing in the goodly form of two responsible pamphlets. I seized on them as if I had never seen them before, and recited the more animated passages aloud, striding up and down a room, in which, from its dimensions, striding is not very convenient. I ended with reading aloud the motto, which I designed in the pride of my heart to prefix to my immortal twins, when, side by side, under the same comely cover, they shall travel down to posterity as a crown octavo;—

> "He set a bugle to his mouth,
> And blew a blast sae shrill,

The trees in greenwood shook thereat,
Sae loud rang ilka hill."

But while I mentally claimed for myself the honour of alarming Scotland, from Coldstream Bridge to the far Highlands, I was giving, by the noise I made, far greater alarm to my neighbour, Christopher Chrysal, who keeps the small hardware and miscellaneous shop under the turnpike stair. Now, sir, you must know that Chrysal deals occasionally in broken tea-spoons and stray sugar-tongs, dismantled lockets and necklaces (which have passed with more or less formality from ladies to their waiting-maids), seals, out of which valets have knocked the stones that the setting might be rendered available, and such other small gear,—nay, I once saw an old silver coffee-pot in his possession. On the score, therefore, of being connected with the precious metals by his calling, neighbour Chrysal has set himself up for a patron and protector of gold and silver, and a stout contender for bullion currency. With a half-crown in one hand, and a twenty-shilling note in the other, he will spout like a player over the two pictures in Hamlet, and it is great to hear him address them alternately—

"This is the thing itself—Off, off, ye lendings!"

But with all the contempt he expressed for the paper substitute, I have always seen that it steals quietly back to the solitude of his little pocketbook. Indeed, the barber says Mr Chrysal has other reasons for wishing a change of currency, or a currency of change, in respect of his own acceptances not being in these sharp times quite so locomotive

as usual—They love the desk of the holder, sir, better than the counter of his great Neighbours in Bank Street. You understand me—but I hate scandal.

I had no sooner apologized to Christopher for the disturbance I had occasioned (which I did with some shame of countenance), than I politely offered him a copy of my pamphlet. He thanked me, but added with a grin (for you know no man is a prophet in his own common stair), that he had nothing particular to wrap up at present: "But in troth, Mr Malachi," said he, "I looked over your pamphlet in the reading-room, and I must tell you as a friend, you have just made a fool of yourself, Mr Malachi."—"A fool!" replied I; "when, how, and in what manner?"—"Ye have set out, sir," replied he,—for Chrysal is a kind of orator, and speaks as scholarly and wisely as his neighbours,—"with assuming the principle, which you should have proved.—You say, that in consequence of restoring the healthful currency of the precious metals, instead of keeping those ragged scraps of paper, Scotland will experience a want of the circulating medium, by which deprivation her industry will be cramped, her manufactures depressed, her fisheries destroyed, and so forth. But you know nothing of the nature of the precious metals, and how should you?"

"Why, not by dealing in old thimbles, broken buckles, and children's whistles, certainly, or stolen *sprecherie*," said I; "but speak out, man, wherein

do I evince ignorance of the nature of the precious metals—tell me that?"

"Why, Mr Malachi Malagrowther," said my friend, in wrath, "I pronounce you ignorant of the most ordinary principles of Political Economy. In your unadvised tract there, you have shown yourself as irritable as Balaam, and as obstinate as his ass. You are making yourself and other people fidgety about the want of gold, to supply the place of that snuff-paper of yours; now in this I repeat you are ignorant."

Here he raised his voice, as if speaking *ex cathedra*. "Gold," continued he, "is a commodity itself, though it be also the representative of other commodities; just as a banker is a man, though his business is to deal in money. Gold, therefore, like all other commodities, will flow to the place where there is a demand for it. It will be found, assure yourself, wherever it is most wanted; just as, if you dig a well, water will percolate into it from all the neighbourhood. Twenty years ago you could not have seen a cigar in Edinburgh. Gillespie, the greatest snuff-merchant of his day, would not have known what you wanted had you asked him for one; and now the shop-windows of the dealers are full of real Havannahs,—and why?—because you see every writer's apprentice with a cigar in his mouth. It is the demand that makes the supply, and so it will be with the gold. The balance of free-trade, whether the commodity be gold or grain, will go where the one finds mouths to be fed, the other a currency to be supported. What sent

specie into the lagoons of Venice, and into the swamps of Holland formerly, as well as into the emporium of London now, while large cities, situated under a finer climate, and in a more fertile country, were and are comparatively destitute of the precious metals?—what, save the tendency of commerce, like water, to find its own just level, and to send all the commodities subject to its influence, the precious metals included, to the points where they are most wanted?"

Now, Mr Journalist, I am a man of a quick temper, but somewhat of a slow wit; and though it struck me that there was something fallacious in this argument, yet, bolstered out as it was by his favourite metaphor, it sounded so plausible, that the right answer did not at once occur to me. Chrysal went on in triumph: "You speak of your Fisheries and Kelp manufacture, and such like, and seem to dread that they will be all ruined for want of a circulating medium. But, sir, one of two things must happen. Either FIRST, assuming that these branches of industry are beneficial to the individuals, and make advantageous returns; as such they will have the usual power of attracting towards them the specie necessary to carry them on, and of course no change whatever will take place. Or, SECONDLY, these fisheries, and so forth, produce no adequate return for the labour expended on them, and are therefore a compulsory species of manufacture, like those establishments instituted at the direct expense, and under the immediate control of government, which we see fading in

despotic countries, or only deriving a sickly existence by the expenditure of the Sovereign, and not by their own natural vigour. In that latter case," he pursued, "those fishing and kelping operations are not productive—are useless to the country—and ought not to be carried on an hour longer; they only occasion the mis-employment of so much capital, the loss of so much labour. Leave your kelp-rocks to the undisturbed possession of seals and mermaids, if there be any—you will buy *barilla* cheaper in South America. Send your Highland fishers to America and Botany Bay, where they will find plenty of food, and let them leave their present sterile residence in the utter and undisturbed solitude for which Nature designed it. Do not think you do any hardship in obeying the universal law of nature, which leads wants and supplies to draw to their just and proper level, and equalize each other; which attracts gold to those spots, and those only, where it can be profitably employed, and induces man to transport himself from the realms of famine to those happier regions, where labour is light and subsistence plentiful.

"Lastly," said the unconscionable Christopher, "sweep out of your head, Mr Malachi, all that absurd rubbish of ancient tradition and history about national privileges—you might as well be angry with the Provost who pulled down the Luckenbooths. They do not belong to this day, in which so many changes have taken place, and so many more are to be expected. We look for what is USEFUL, sir, and to what is useful only; and our

march towards utility is not to be interrupted by reference to antiquated treaties, or obsolete prejudices. So, while you sit flourishing your claymore, Mr Malachi, on the top of your Articles of Union, very like the figure of a Highlander on the sign of a whisky-office, take care you are not served as the giant who built his castle on the marvellous bean-stalk—Truth comes like the old woman with the 'cuttie-axe'—it costs but a swashing blow or two, and down comes Malachi and his whole system." —So saying, *exit* Christopher, *ovans*.

There was such a boldness and plausibility about the fellow, and such a confidence in the arguments which he expressed so fluently, that I felt a temporary confusion of ideas, and was obliged to throw myself into what has been, for many generations, the considering position of the Malagrowther family: that is to say, I flung myself back in our hereditary easy-chair, fixing my eyes on the roof, but keeping them, at the same time, half shut; having my hands folded, and twirling my thumbs slowly around each other, a motion highly useful in unravelling and evolving the somewhat tangled thread of the ideas. Thus seated, in something short of two hours I succeeded in clearing out the ravelled skean, which evolved itself in as orderly a coil before me as if it had been touched by the rod of Prince Percinet, in the fairy tale, and I am about to communicate the result. I must needs own that my discoveries went so far as was like to have involved you in an examination of the general principles on which the doctrine of currency

depends. But since, *entre nous*, we might get a little beyond our depth on the subject, I have restrained myself within the limits of the question, as practically applicable to Scotland.

My present business is to enquire how this meditated change of circulation, supposing it forcibly imposed on us, is to be accomplished—by what magic art, in other words, our paper is to be changed into gold, without some great national distress, nay, convulsion, *in transitu?*

My neighbour deems anxiety in this case quite ridiculous. Gold, he says, is a commodity, and whenever its presence becomes necessary, there it will appear. Guineas, according to Christopher, are like the fairy goblets in Parnell's tale,

> ——— "that with a wish come nigh,
> And with a wish retire."

I don't know how it may be in national necessities, but I have some reason to think that friend Chrysal has not, any more than I have myself, found the maxim true, in so far as concerns our personal experience. I heartily wish, indeed, this comfortable doctrine extended to individual cases, and that the greater occasion a poor devil had for money, the more certain he should be of his wants being supplied by the arrival of that obliging article, which is said to come wherever it is wanted. Since Fortunatus's time, the contrary has in general proved to be the case, and I cannot deny it would be very convenient to us to have his system restored.

And yet there is some truth in what my neigh-

bour says; for if a man is indispensably obliged to have a sum of money, why he must make every effort to raise it. Supposing I was in business, and threatened with insolvency, I might find myself under the necessity of getting cash by selling property at an under rate, or procuring loans at usurious interest on what I retained, and in that ruinous manner I might raise money, because still nearer ruin stared me in the face if I did not. The question is, how long supplies so obtained could continue?—Not an instant longer than I have articles to sell or to pawn. After this, my usual wants would be as pressing, but I might wish my heart out ere I found a groat to relieve them—No fairy will leave a silver penny in my shoe. Now I fear it must be by some such violent sacrifices, as those in the case supposed, that Scotland must purchase and maintain her metallic currency, if her present substitute is debarred.

Mr Chrysal's proposition should not then run, that gold will come when it is most needed, but should have been expressed thus,—that in countries where the presence of gold is rendered indispensable, it must be obtained, whatever price is given for it, while the means of paying such a price remain.

He amuses himself, indeed, and puzzles his hearers, by affirming that gold is like water, and, like water when poured out, it will find its level. —A metaphor is no argument in any instance; but I think I can contrive in the present to turn my friend's own water-engine against him. Scotland, sir, is not *beneath* the level to which gold flows naturally. She is *above* that level, and she may

perish for want of it ere she sees a guinea, without she, or the State for her, be at the perpetual expense of maintaining, by constant expenditure of a large per centage, that metallic currency which has a natural tendency to escape from a poor country back to a rich one. Just so, a man might die of thirst on the top of a Scottish hill, though a river or a lake lay at the base of it. Therefore, if we insist upon the favourite comparison of gold to water, we must conceive the possibilityof the golden Pactolus flowing up Glencroe in an opposite direction to the natural element, which trots down from the celebrated *Rest and be Thankful.*

If my friend would consult the clerk of the Water Company, at his office in the Royal Exchange, he would explain the matter at once. "Let me have," says Mr Chrysal, "a pipe of water to my house."—"Certainly, sir; it will cost you forty shillings yearly."—"The devil it will! Why, surely the Lawnmarket is lower than the Reservoir on the Castlehill? It is the nature of water to come to a level. What title have you to charge me money, when the element is only obeying the laws of Nature, and descending to its level?"—"Very true, sir," replies the clerk; "but then it was no law of Nature brought it to the reservoir, at a height which was necessary to enable us to disperse the supply over the city. On the contrary, it was an exertion of Art in despite of Nature. It was forced hither by much labour and ingenuity. Lakes were formed, aqueducts constructed, rivers dammed up, pipes laid for many miles. Without immense expense, the water could

never have been brought here; and without your paying a rateable charge, you cannot have the benefit of it."

This is exactly the case with the gold currency. It must have a natural tendency to centre in London, for the exchange is heavily against Scotland. We have the whole public income, four millions a-year, to remit thither. Independent of that large and copious drain, we have occasion to send to England the rents of non-resident proprietors, and a thousand other payments to make to London, which must be done in specie, or by bills payable in the metropolis. So that the circulation moves thither of free will, like a horse led by the bridle; while Scotland's attempts to detain it, are like those of a wild Highlandman catching his pony by the tail. Or, to take a very old comparison, London is like Aboulcasem's well, full of gold, gems, and every thing valuable. The rich contents are drawn from it by operations resembling those of a forcing-pump, which compel small portions into the extreme corners of the kingdom; but all these golden streamlets, when left to themselves, trickle back to the main reservoir.

My friend's idea of a voluntary, unsolicited, and unbought supply of metallic currency, is like the reasoning of old Merrythought, when, with only a shilling in his pocket, he expresses a resolution to continue a jovial course of life. "But how wilt thou come by the means, Charles?" says his wife. "How?" replied the gay old gentleman, in a full reliance on his resources,—"How?—Why, how have I done hitherto, these forty years?—I never

came into my dining-room, but, at eleven and six o'clock, I found excellent meat and drink on the table. My clothes were never worn out, but next morning a tailor brought me a new suit, and, without question, it will be so ever—use makes perfectness." The dramatist has rescued his jolly epicurean out of the scrape before his slender stock was exhausted; but in what mode Scotland is to be relieved from the expense about to be imposed on a country, where industry and skill can but play a saving game, at best, against national disadvantages, is not so easy to imagine.

What may be the expense of purchasing in the outset, and maintaining in constant supply, a million and a half of gold, I cannot pretend to calculate, but something may be guessed from the following items:—To begin, like Mrs Glass's recipe for dressing a hare, *first catch your hare*—first buy your gold at whatever sacrifice of loss of exchange; then add to the price a reasonable profit to those who are to advance the purchase-money—next insure your specie against water-thieves and land-thieves, peril of winds, waves, and rocks, from the Mint to the wharf, from the wharf to Leith, from Leith to Edinburgh, from Edinburgh to the most remote parts of Scotland, unprotected by police of any kind—the insurances can be no trifle; besides, that an accident or two, like the loss of the Delight smack the other day, with L.4000 of specie on board, will make a tolerably heavy addition to other bills of charges, as the expense of carriages, guards, and so forth—then add the items together, and compute the dead loss of interest upon the whole

sum. The whole may be moderately calculated at an expense of more than *five per cent*, a charge which must ultimately be laid on the Scottish manufactures, agricultural operations, fisheries, and other public and private undertakings; many of which are not at present returning twelve or fifteen per cent of profit at the uttermost.

My friend Chrysal's reasoning rested on this great mistake, that he confounds the necessity of our procuring gold under the operation of the new system, and the supplies which that necessity must necessarily oblige us to purchase, with a voluntary determination of unbought treasures running uphill to find their level at Stornoway, Tongue, or Oban. He imagines that the specie, for which we have to pay a heavy consideration, will come to our service voluntarily. I answer, in one word, the gold will come, if purchased, AND NOT OTHERWISE. The expense attending the operation will be just a tax upon the parties who pay it, with this difference, that it makes no addition to the public revenue. Every sovereign we get, which passes, of course, for twenty shillings, will, before it gets to the north of Scotland, have cost *one*-and-twenty. Illustrations of so plain a proposition are endless. Suppose Government had imposed a stamp-duty upon any commodity, and, whilst with some other cowl'd neighbours I am canvassing its effects, I ask, as a party concerned,—"But how are we to come by these stamps? The branch of commerce to which they apply is not able to bear the impost." Up rises my friend Chrysal in reply—"Stamped paper," says he, "is a commodity; and, like all

commodities, flows to the point where there is a demand." True—but, unhappily, when the stamped paper is in bodily presence, I cannot have a slip of it till I pay the impost; and if my trade does not enable me to do so, I must give it up, or be a ruined man!

The same consequences must attend the increased expense of the circulation under the proposed measure, as would apply to a tax in any other form. The manufactures, public works, and private speculations, which are making a return, enabling them to defray the charge attending the more expensive medium of circulation, will struggle on as they can, with less profit by the direct amount, and more disadvantages arising from the means of circulation being at the mercy of winds and waves, and subjected to long and perilous transportation before the gold reaches them. Those, on the other hand, whose trade makes more precarious returns, will be no longer able to wait for better times. They will give up all, and the consequences to Scotland—and England also—omitting all allusion to individual distress, will be a black history.

I have already said, that the Fisheries and Kelp shores, and improvements on the more bleak and distant districts, will probably be the first sufferers. And my neighbour replies, with a sweeping argument, that enterprises which cannot support themselves by their own exertions, and natural returns of profit, ought not to have the encouragement of Government—that they are only vain schemes, in which labour and expense are wasted without their bringing the necessary return, and that the force

employed in keeping up these barren and fruitless undertakings should, as soon as possible, be directed into a more productive channel. If I urge, that, although these undertakings may not, as yet, have made the full returns expected, yet they support many people, natives of a country otherwise too poor to furnish the means of livelihood to its inhabitants,—why, the answer is equally ready. Let the Highlander emigrate, or be transported to Botany Bay; and supply his place with sheep,——goats,—any thing,—or nothing at all.

I do not mean to deny, sir, that there is general truth in the maxims, which recommend that a free trade be left to sustain itself by its own exertions; deprecating the system of forcing commerce when its natural efforts were not successful, and warning against planting colonies in unhealthy or barren spots, where the colonists must perish, or exist in a state of miserable and precarious dependence on the bounties of the mother country. To these political truths I subscribe cheerfully—But an old civilian used to tell me, *fraus latet in generalibus;* and no general maxim can be safely, wisely, or justly applied, until it has been carefully considered how far it is controlled by the peculiar circumstances of the case. The precepts of Religion herself, as expressed in the holiest texts of Scripture, have been wrested into sophistry—the soundest political principles may, by the frigid subtleties of metaphysical moonshine, be extended so as, in appearance, to authorize aggressions on national rights, as well as on the dictates of sound wisdom and humanity.

I have more replies than one to my neighbour's doctrines of Political Economy (though true in the abstract), when I consider them as applicable to the case in question.

In the *first* place, I deny that the Scottish Fisheries are in the predicament to which the maxim, quoted triumphantly by my friend Chrysal, applies. I say that they are already supporting themselves, and producing a moderate but certain profit; only that this profit is as yet *so* moderate, that it certainly will not bear an impost of probably five or six per cent upon the gross capital employed; and that, therefore, it is the highest impolicy to smother, by such a burden, important national undertakings, which are, without such new imposition, in a condition to maintain themselves. It would be breaking the reed ere it had attained its strength, and quenching the smoking flax just when about to burst into flame.

Secondly, Admitting, from the great poverty of the inhabitants, and other discouraging circumstances, that the Scottish fisheries have for a long time required the support of Government, I still aver, that the expense attending such support has been well and wisely disposed of,—just as a landlord would act not generously only, but most prudently, in giving favourable terms of settlement to a tenant, who was to improve his farm largely. An exotic shrub, when first planted, must be watered and cared for—a child requires tenderness and indulgence till he has got through the sickly and helpelss years of infancy. A fishery or manufacture, established in a wild country, and

among a population of indolent habits, unaccustomed to industry, and to the enjoyment of the profits derived from it, will, at the outset, require assistance from the State, till old habits are surmounted, and difficulties overcome. There is something in the nature of the people, who have been long depressed by poverty, resembling the qualities of their own peat-earth. Left alone, it is the most anti-septic and inert of Nature's productions; but when, according to the process of compost invented by the late ingenious Lord Meadowbank, this *caput mortuum* is intermixed with a small portion of active manure, it heats, ferments, changes its sluggish nature, and fertilizes the whole country in the vicinity. No agriculturist regards the expense of the proportion of manure necessary to commence this vivifying operation; and neither will any wise government regret the outlay of sums employed in exciting the industry, improving the comforts, and amending the condition, of its inhabitants. In the present case, Government has done this duty amply—The tree has taken root, the child is rising fast to youth and manhood—the establishments of the fisheries are in full progress to triumphant success. The question is not, if you are yet to continue your encouragement—nor whether the public is to save some expense by withdrawing it? In these questions there would be a direct and palpable motive, that of a saving to the State, which, so far as it went, would be a real, if not an adequate motive, for breaking up these establishments. But the question at issue turns on this very different point—whether, by

a measure obnoxious to Scotland, and in which England cannot challenge an interest remote or direct, you are to adopt an enactment so likely to create the ruin of these establishments, now that they have already attained prosperity? The wish of many of the wisest English patriots has been accomplished—the barren and desolate shores are compensated in that desolation by the riches of the sea—foreigners are driven from engrossing as formerly their wealth, and selling to Britain herself at advantage, the produce of her own coasts. Thriving villages are already found where there were scarcely to be seen the most wretched hovels; a population lazy and indolent, because they had no motive for exertion, have become, on finding the employment, and tasting the fruits of industry, an enterprising and hardy race of seamen, well qualified to enrich their country in peace—to defend her in time of war. *All this* is GAINED. Shall all be lost again, to render the system of currency betwixt England and Scotland uniform? all sacrificed to what I can call little more than a political conundrum? In my opinion, the Dutchmen might as well cut the dikes, and let the sea in upon the land their industry has gained from it. In the case of Holland, she would at least save the money expended in maintaining her ramparts. In our case, the state gains nothing and loses every thing.

Lastly, I would say a word in behalf of the people of Scotland, merely as human beings, and entitled to consideration as such. I will suppose this alteration is recommended by some expected advantages of great importance, but the nature of

which are prudently concealed. I will suppose, what is not easily understood, that in some unintelligible manner England is to gain with addition what Scotland is condemned to lose. (The process, by the way, seems to resemble that recommended by Molière's quack, who prescribes the putting out of one eye, that the other may see further, and more acutely). I will suppose that our statesmen, by enforcing this measure, condemn to emigration, or transportation—the punishment she inflicts on felons—the inhabitants of distant and desert tracts, on the mainland and in the Hebrides, to save her from some expense, and because she thinks a country so different from her own fertile valleys, cannot be fit for human habitation. In that case I would say, Consider first, the character of the population you are about to consign thus summarily to the effects which must follow the destroying their present means of livelihood. My countrymen have their faults, and I am well aware of them. But this I will say, that there is more vice, more crime—nay, more real want and misery, more degrading pauperism and irremediable wretchedness, in the parish of Saint Giles's alone, than in the whole Highlands and pastoral districts of Scotland, or perhaps in all Scotland together. Poor as the inhabitants are, the wants of the Highlanders are limited to their circumstances; and they have enjoyments which make amends, in their own way of reckoning, for deprivations which they do not greatly feel. Their land is to them a land of many recollections. I will not dwell on that subject, lest I be thought fantastic in

harping on a tune so obsolete. But every heart must feel some sympathy when I say, they love their country, rude as it is, because it holds the churches where their fathers worshipped, and the churchyards where their bones are laid.

This is not all. Mountainous countries inspire peculiarly strong attachments into the natives, showing, perhaps, if we argue up to the Final Great Cause, that while it was the pleasure of God that men should exist in all parts of the world, which His pleasure called into being, the Beneficence of the Common Father annexed circumstances of consolation, which should compensate the mountaineers for want of the fertility and fine climate enjoyed by the inhabitants of the plain. Some philosophers, looking to secondary causes, have referred the sense of this local attachment amongst mountaineers to the influence of the sublime though desolate scenery around them, as stamping the idea of a peculiar country more deeply on their bosoms. The chief cause seems to me to be, that such tribes rarely change their dwellings, and therefore become more wedded to their native districts than are the inhabitants of those where the population is frequently fluctuating. The land is not only theirs *now*, it pertained to a long list of fathers before them; and the coldest philosopher will regard what is called a family estate with greater attachment than he applies to a recent purchase.

But independent of this, the inhabitants of the wilder districts in Scotland have actually some enjoyments, both moral and physical, which compensate for the want of better subsistence and more

comfortable lodging. In a word, they have more liberty than the inhabitants of the richer soil. Englishmen will start at this as a paradox; but it is very true notwithstanding, that if one great privilege of liberty be the power of going where a man pleases, the Scotch peasant enjoys it much more than the English. The pleasure of viewing "fair Nature's face," and a great many other primitive enjoyments, for which a better diet and lodging are but indifferent substitutes, are more within the power of the poor man in Scotland than in the sister country. A Scottish gentleman, in the wilder districts, is seldom severe in excluding his poor neighbours from his grounds; and I have known many that have voluntarily thrown them open to all quiet and decent persons who wish to enjoy them. The game of such liberal proprietors, their plantations, their fences, and all that is apt to suffer from intruders, have, I have observed, been better protected than where severer measures of general seclusion were adopted. *Haud inexpertus loquor.*

But in many districts, the part of the soil which, with the utmost stretch of appropriation, the first-born of Egypt can set apart for his own exclusive use, bears a small proportion indeed to the uncultivated wastes. The step of the mountaineer on his wild heath, solitary mountain, and beside his far-spread lake, is more free than that which is confined to a dusty turnpike, and warned from casual deviation by advertisements which menace the summary vindication of the proprietor's monopoly of his extensive park, by spring-guns or man-traps, or the

more protracted, yet scarce less formidable denunciation, of what is often, and scarce unjustly spelled, "*persecution* according to law." Above all, the peasant lives and dies as his fathers did, in the cot where he was born, without ever experiencing the horrors of a work-house. This may compensate for the want of much beef, beer, and pudding, in those to whom habit has not made this diet indispensable.

It is to be hoped that experimental legislation will pause ere consigning a race which is contented with its situation to banishment, because they only offer at present their hardy virtues and industry to the stock of national prosperity, instead of communicating largely to national wealth. Even considered as absolute paupers, they have some right to such slight support as may be necessary to aid them in maintaining themselves by their own industry. If the poor elsewhere could be maintained without the degrading sense that they were receiving eleemosynary aid, it would be the better for themselves and their country.

I will admit, for argument's sake, that the public funds which have established those fishing stations might have been bestowed to better advantage; still, having been so expended, we ought certainly not to be hasty in withdrawing our support, even if we may judge that it was incautiously granted at first. The philosopher, in the fanciful tale of *Frankenstein*, acted unwisely in creating the unnatural being to which art enabled him to give life and motion; but when he had, like a second Prometheus, given sensation and power of thought to the creation of his skill and science, he had no title

to desert the giant whom he had called into existence; and the story shows that no good came of his being discontented with his own handiwork. But I contend, that the establishments to which I allude exhibit nothing save what may render the founders and encouragers proud of the result of their patriotic labours.

I do therefore hope that the present contented and rapidly improving condition of so many fellow-creatures, will be considered as something in the scale, when a measure shall be finally weighed, which, in the opinion of all connected with the north of Scotland, threatens to deprive them of the means of livelihood.

On other national topics I have already said enough. Those who look only at states and ledgers, hold such feelings as arise upon points of national honour, as valueless as a cipher without a numeral prefixed. Right or wrong, however, they still have an effect on the people of Scotland, as all can bear witness who were here when his Majesty honoured the capital of his ancestors with his own presence. We would not plead these too high neither, nor cling tenaciously by antiquated pretensions, which may obstruct the general welfare of the empire; but we deprecate that sort of change which is made for the mere sake of innovation. A proud nation cannot endure such experiments when they touch honour—a poor one cannot brook them when attended with heavy loss. We are all aware that many changes must of necessity be—the political atmosphere is heavy and gloomy with the symptoms of them,—

" And coming events cast their shadows before."

These changes will be wrought in their time; but we trust they will not be forced forward suddenly, or until the public mind is prepared for, and the circumstances of the country require them.

Seasonable improvements are like the timely and regular showers, which, falling softly and silently upon the earth, when fittest to be received, awaken its powers of fertility. Hasty innovation is like the headlong hurricane, which may indeed be ultimately followed by beneficial consequences, but is, in its commencement and immediate progress, attended by terror, tumult, and distress.

This is indeed a period when change of every kind is boldly urged and ingeniously supported, nay, finds support in its very singularity: as the wildest doctrines of enthusiasm have been often pleaded with most eloquence, and adopted with most zeal. One philosopher will convert the whole country into work-houses, just as Commodore Trunnion would have arranged each parish on the system of a man-of-war. Another class has turned the system of Ethics out of doors, and discovers, on the exterior of the skull, the passions of which we used to look for the source within. One set of fanatics join to dethrone the Deity, another to set up Prince Hohenloe. The supporters of all find preachers, hearers, and zealots, and would find martyrs if persecuted. We are at such a speculative period obliged to be cautious in adopting measures which are supported only by speculative argument. Let men reason as ingeniously as they will, and we will listen to them, amused if we are